



Handwritten text in a cursive script, likely a signature or name, located at the bottom of the page. The text is written in dark ink on a light background. The signature is highly stylized and appears to be a personal name, possibly "John Smith" or similar, though the exact details are difficult to discern due to the cursive nature of the writing.



21
Thomas B. Apple
N. G. del

Dr. G. del

15/



Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2013

<http://archive.org/details/historicaldescri00will>

HISTORICAL AND DESCRIPTIVE
MEMOIR
ON THE
Town and Environs of Jerusalem.

[TO ACCOMPANY THE ORDNANCE SURVEY.]

BY GEORGE WILLIAMS, B. D.,
FELLOW OF KING'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.



LONDON :
JOHN W. PARKER, WEST STRAND.
CAMBRIDGE : JOHN DEIGHTON.

M.DCCC.XLIX.



Cambridge :
Printed at the University Press.

CONTENTS.

	PAGE
I. INTRODUCTION:—1 Former Plans of Jerusalem	1
2 The Ordnance Survey	9
II. The General Plan	11
III. Interior of the City	13
i. Christian Quarter	14
ii. Armenian Quarter	20
iii. Jews' Quarter	25
iv. Mohammedan Quarter	<i>ib.</i>
v. El-Haram es-Sherif	31
IV. Walls and Gates. Modern and Mediaeval	39
V. Environs of the City. i. East	48
ii. South	56
iii. West	65
iv. North	67
VI. The Ancient City	68
General Disposition according to Josephus	70
i. Upper City and Old Wall	72
1 North	73
2 West	77
3 South	<i>ib.</i>
4 East	80
ii. Lower City and Second Wall	83
iii. New City and Third Wall	84
iv. The Temple Area	94
v. Wall of Circumvallation	104
VIII. Topography of the New Testament	108
IX. The Walls of Nehemiah	111
The Fuller's Field	122

NOTES.

NOTE A. The Royal Cloister (by Professor Willis)	125
..... B. Dr. Robinson's Strictures on Major Symonds	127

APPENDIX.

	PAGE
No. I. Account of Jerusalem from Edrisi	131
... II. Norman French description	133
Notes and Illustrations of the same	140
... III. Description of the Haram and City by Mejir-ed-din	143

DESCRIPTION OF THE MESJID EL-AKSA.

§ i. Description of the Mosk el-Aksa	143
ii Dimensions.	<i>ib.</i>
iii. The Well of the Leaf	144
iv. The Mart of Science	145
v. The Cradle of Jesus	<i>ib.</i>
vi. The Mosk of the Moghrebins	<i>ib.</i>
vii. Es-Sakhrah	146
viii. The Sacred Foot-Print	<i>ib.</i>
ix. The Cave	<i>ib.</i>
x. The Dome of the Chain	147
xi. The Dome of the Prophet's Ascension	148
xii. The Place of the Prophet	<i>ib.</i>
xiii. The Place of the Prophet, El-Khudr (S. George)	<i>ib.</i>
xiv. The Dome of Solomon	149
xv. The Dome of Moses	<i>ib.</i>
xvi. The Dome of the Roll	150
xvii. Retreat of Kashan	<i>ib.</i>
xviii. The Cell of Bostam	<i>ib.</i>
xix. The Cell of Samed	<i>ib.</i>
xx. Dimensions of the Area of the Mesjid	<i>ib.</i>
xxi. Observation	151
xxii. Dimensions of the Platform of the Sakhrah	<i>ib.</i>
xxiii. The Ancient Aksa	<i>ib.</i>
xxiv. The Stable of Solomon	152
xxv. The Minarets	<i>ib.</i>
xxvi. Gates of the Mesjid	<i>ib.</i>
xxvii. The Minarets of Jerusalem	156
xxviii. Celebrated Quarters of Jerusalem	157
xxix. The Street of David	<i>ib.</i>
xxx. The Street of the Merzeban	158
xxxi. The Lane of the Valley of the Mills	<i>ib.</i>
§ xxxii. The Castle	159
xxxiii. The City Gates	160
xxxiv. The Fountain of Siloam	<i>ib.</i>

REMARKABLE PLACES IN THE ENVIRONS OF JERUSALEM.

	PAGE
§ xxxv. The Fountain of accused Women	160
xxxvi. The Well of Job	<i>ib.</i>
xxxvii. The Convent of Abu Tor	162
xxxviii. The Mount of Olives	<i>ib.</i>
xxxix. The Tomb of Miryam	<i>ib.</i>
xl. Ez-Zahari	163
xli. The Cave Edhemiene	<i>ib.</i>
xlii. The Cotton Grotto	<i>ib.</i>
xliii. Tombs without Jerusalem	<i>ib.</i>

EXPLANATION OF THE REFERENCES IN THE DETAILED PLAN OF THE TEMPLE-AREA.

N.B.—This Table is inserted here for want of room upon the Plate. The numbers refer to Mediaeval and Modern Sites; the letters to the Jewish and Christian Antiquities.

Mosk el-Aksa.

- 1 Mihrab of David—called also of Omar.
- 2 Minbar.
- 3 Mihrab of Moaviah.
- 4 Corner of the Circumcision.
- 5 Gallery of the Muezzin.
- 6 Porch of Ozair (Ezra).
- 7 Porch and Mihrab of Zechariah.
- 8 Eastern Gate.
- 9 Western Gate.
- 10 Well of the Leaf.

*Other References, the position of which is indicated in all cases
where the figures are widely separated.*

- 11 (On the Southern Wall of the Area). The Mart of Science.
- 12 Second Mihrab of David.
- 13 (On the western boundary near the "House of Abu Se'ud").
Descent to a subterranean Gateway.
- 14 (On the eastern Wall immediately opposite to the last). Judgment-seat of Mohammed.
- 15 (Southern boundary of the Platform of the central Dome). Minbar used on Festivals, &c.
- 16 (This and the following near the North-west side of the Platform).
Dome of the Ascension of the Prophet.
- 17 The Place of the Prophet.
- 18 The Place of El-Khudr (S. George).
- 19 The Cave of Spirits.
- 20 (Near the North side of the Area). Dome of Solomon.
- 21 (Between the South-west corner of the Platform and the West Wall of the Area). Dome of Moses.
- 22 (This and the ten following numbers are placed in order round the Platform beginning with the South-west corner). Dome of the Grammarians.

- 23 Dome of the Roll.
- 24 Cell of Kashan.
- 25 Convent of Bostam.
- 26 Convent of Samed.
- 27 Steps of Borak, with Saracenic arcade at the head.
- 28
- 29
- 30
- 31 } Others steps leading to the Platform, with similar Saracenic arcades.
- 32 }
- 33 }
- 34 }
- 35 Five Prayer Stations (scattered about the North and West parts of the Area).
- 36 (Appended to the South Wall of El-Aksa). Chambers connected with the Mosk el-Aksa.
- 37 A small kiosk projecting from the western Wall of the Area to the South of the House of Abu Se'ud.

The following numbers all lie near the same spot.

- 38 A small stair leading to the Court of Abu Se'ud's House.
- 39 An open court on a lower level than the Area of the Mosk.
- 40 Southernmost Angle of the West Wall, where the continuity of its line is broken by the house of Abu Se'ud.
- 41 The Gate of The Prophet.
- 42 (Four references scattered in various places upon the western and northern sides of the Area). Convents, Schools, Cells, &c.
[N.B. This and the following references are repeated on the General Plan.]
- 43 (On the North side of the Area). A Mosk.
- 44—48 See General Plan.
- 48 (West of the Dome of the Rock). Dome of the Chain, or of David.
- 49 (Between the Dome of the Rock and el-Aksa). Fountain.
- 50 Descent to the Vaulted Corridor beneath the Mosk.
- 51 (South-eastern corner of the Area). Cradle of Jesus and Descent to the Substructions.
- 52 (Eastern Wall of Area above the *Golden Gate*). Throne of Solomon.
- 53 Minaret (at the South-western corner of the Area).
- 54 Ditto (on the western boundary of the Area).
- 55 Ditto (near the western extremity of the northern boundary).
- 56 Ditto (on the northern boundary opposite the *Pool of Bethesda*).

Site of the Jewish Temple.

- a* The Altar.
- b* The Temple.
- cc* The Wall of separation between the Courts; in the middle of which wall was placed the Beautiful Gate.
- defg* The boundary of the Inner Temple. The space between the parallel lines indicates the "Chel."
- hh* Masses of building occupied by the chambers and gates, and having stoas in front, which also extended along the eastern boundary, and had a gate in the centre; but these are not indicated in the Plan, to avoid confusion.
- l* (In the western boundary of the Area, opposite to the south-west corner of the Platform. This and the following letters are placed in order round the boundary.) The Causeway.
- m* The Gate Shallecheth.
- n* The Gate Parbar.
- o* } The two Gates of Asuppim.
- p* }
- q* Site of the Tower Antonia.
- r* The Gate Tedi.
- ss* Two arched Vaults running Westward.
[N.B. This and the following references are repeated on the general Plan.]
- t* North-east angle of Mosk: ancient Masonry.
- u* (Near the Golden Gate). Saracenic Gateway (built up).
- v* South-east angle of Mosk: ancient Masonry.
- u* (On the South between 11 and 12). Saracenic Gateway (built up).
- w* Three Roman arches (built up).
- x* Double Gateway to Vaulted Passage (built up).
- y* Ruined Arch. (Dr. Robinson's Bridge).
- z* Jews' Wailing-place: Ancient Wall.

ADVERTISEMENT.

THIS Supplement to the Writer's *Historical and Topographical Notices of the Holy City*, appended to the First Volume of that Work, is published in a separate form, as a Companion to the Plan engraved, by permission, from the Ordnance Survey.

G. W.

MEMOIR.

I. INTRODUCTION.

1. *Former Plans of Jerusalem.*

A COMPLETE history of the Chartography of the Holy City would require a somewhat detailed notice of the arts of Drawing and Engraving from their earliest infancy to the present day; for in all ages these arts have done their best for Jerusalem. A dissertation of this extent, however, is not contemplated in this Memoir; but merely such a sketch of the subject as may demonstrate the necessity that has existed for an accurate Plan, such as it is my privilege to make public.

The earliest endeavours to picture the sacred places of the Holy City, and to aid the descriptions of travellers, which, however graphic, must always fail to convey an adequate idea of the realities, were as rude as the science of engineering and the art of engraving. The worthy authors, who seem never to have contemplated the possibility of illustrating their subject by plans, had recourse to bird's-eye views, according to the conventional modes of drawing employed before the laws of perspective were developed, and which certainly contrived to embrace all that was most important, but did not serve to convey a very accurate idea of the places portrayed, inasmuch as the topographical and architectural details were tortured, to render the *coup-d'œil* as complete and imposing as possible. Brey-

denbach¹ challenges to himself the first place for this kind of illustration; his general view of the City from the Mount of Olives, and the more detailed drawings of particular buildings, are works of great merit, much more free from the errors and defects just noticed than many subsequent productions.

The most unfortunate of all the illustrations of this character, were the attempts to restore the ancient City, of whose signal failures the works of Adrichomius², Villalpandus³, Lightfoot⁴, and others, contain the lasting memorials. Neither did Quaresmius⁵ improve upon these rough guesses, as his intimate acquaintance with the City might have enabled him to do; and such was the authority acquired by these absurd views, that so lately as 1844, a beautiful reprint of the plan of Adrichomius, with its full complement of fanciful hills and valleys and impossible bridges, was re-edited at Brussels, by a learned dignitary of the Belgian Church⁶, and actually found a trumpeter in a French writer who had visited Jerusalem⁷.

A considerable advance in the illustration of the

¹ Bernh. de Breydenbach, (travelled 1483—4) *Itinerarium Hierosolymitanum*, &c. Mogunt. 1486.

² Christ, Adrichomius, (died 1585.) *Theatrum Terræ Sanctæ*, &c. Colon. Agrippa, fol. 1590, 1593, 1600, 1613, 1628, 1632.

³ J. B. Villalpandus, p. 73, of the *Apparatus Urbis ac Templi Hierosolymitani*, forming Tom. III. of his *Explanations of Ezekiel*, printed also in the *Prolegomena to Walton's Polyglott*, Tom. i. p. 38.

⁴ Lightfoot's *Chorographical Century*, Chap. xxx. Works, Vol. x. p. 44.

⁵ F. Quaresmii, *Elucidatio Terræ Sanctæ*, (written A. D. 1616—1625,) Antv. 1639. In Vol. II. p. 39, he gives the restorations of Villalpandus and Brocardus (which are nearly identical) at one view. His own restoration of Mount Calvary, &c., at p. 448, is somewhat better.

⁶ *Plan de Jérusalem et de ses Faubourgs*, par l'Abbé André Dupuis. Bruxelles, 1844. The accompanying *Histoire* is really a work of much merit.

⁷ *Histoire de Jérusalem*, par M. Poujoulat, Tome II. p. 197, n. 2.

Holy City was made by the Franciscan Bernardino, (A. D. 1516); and his *Trattato* has been very justly esteemed for its complete set of plans and sections of the principal sacred edifices in and about Jerusalem⁸. Viewed as an architectural work, it is much better than could be expected for the time, and his minute statements of measurements, whenever fairly tested, have proved singularly accurate⁹. His view of the modern City from the Mount of Olives is not equal to his more detailed drawings of particular buildings, but his restoration of the ancient City pays more regard to the actual formation of the ground than those of his predecessors, and does not attempt the identification of so many sites. It is however replete with errors, owing mainly to his attempt to reconcile the then received notions of old Jerusalem, originated by Brocardus, with the existing features of the City, without a sufficient acquaintance with Josephus—almost the sole authority on the subject.

To John Zuallart, the Fleming, (A. D. 1586,) belongs the merit of the first endeavour to lay down a geometrical plan of the City¹⁰: but the survey was very partial, being confined almost exclusively to the *Via Dolorosa*, which was plotted only by eye, without any apparent regard to accurate measurement. Besides which, the continuity of the plan was broken by the adoption of a scale disproportionate to the width of his page, and the occasional disadjustment of the parts served still further

⁸ *Trattato delle Piante et Imagini de Sacri Edifizi di Terra Santa designate in Jerusalemme*, (cir. 1516) dal R. P. T. Bernardino, &c., Roma, 1603. Firenze, 1620.

⁹ His elevations, however, must be used with caution. See H. C. Vol. II.

pp. 235, 6.

¹⁰ Jean Zuallart, al. Giovanni Zualard, (travelled in 1580). *Il devotissimo Viaggio de Gierusalemme*, &c. Roma, 1587; much enlarged in French, Anvers, 1603.

to perplex the matter. His illustrations, however, such as they were, seem to have become very popular, and the plates did good service, being found not only in the Italian, French, and German editions of his Travels, but also in the Itinerary of Cotovicus, published at Antwerp, (A. D. 1619), and in the English original, and in the Dutch and German translations of Sandys' Travels.

The next step in the Chartography of the Holy City can scarcely be said to be one in advance, it was perhaps retrograde. The plans which accompanied Shaw's Travels, (A. D. 1738), and Pococke's Description of the East (A. D. 1743-8), were decidedly inferior to some executed in the preceding century; and what Dr. Robinson justly remarks of the latter is equally true of the former, that it "can hardly be said to have the slightest resemblance to its original, and only serves to mislead the reader¹." The plan of Jerusalem with which all Biblical students are familiar, apparently owes its origin to the celebrated French geographer D'Anville; and I am sorry that truth compels me to say that one who has deserved so well of this branch of science, has done much disservice to Sacred Literature. It is difficult to account for his inaccuracies, as it is evident from his Memoir, that he had spared no pains to make himself master of the subject². But he erred, as his predecessors had done, in an endeavour to determine too much from insufficient or incorrect data.

Such was the state of the case when Mr. Catherwood

¹ Bib. Res. first Appendix to Vol. III. p. 21.

² The Plan is given on his *Charte de Palestine*, in his Atlas (A. D. 1767). The *Dissertation sur l'Etendue de*

l'ancienne Jérusalem et de son Temple, published at Paris in 1747, 8, is reprinted in Chateaubriand's *Itinéraire*. No. 11. of the *Pièces Justificatives*, Tome II. pp. 250—298. Paris, 1844.

visited Jerusalem, in 1835, and during his sojourn applied himself with meritorious diligence to the survey of the Haram, where he was engaged for six weeks, with the assistance of two friends, also artists, in making plans and drawings of the various buildings³.

Of the merits of this Survey, I must speak further when I come to describe the plan of the Temple-area. Here I need only observe that the time devoted to the Haram, and his precipitate retreat from Jerusalem, on the approach of Ibrahim Pasha, did not allow him to complete his survey of the City. His Plan, therefore, with the exception of the Haram, is derived from an unpublished Survey made by Mr. J. J. Scoles in 1825, under circumstances of great difficulty and danger, and though infinitely superior to any that before existed, could not be safely appealed to as an authority, in questions which involved nice calculations and close inductions.

It has, however, been the standard Plan from that time to the present; for although Herr Kiepert, on the authority of Drs. Robinson and Schultz, has introduced into his engravings some additions and corrections in measurements, bearings, names, &c., yet are the Plans essentially the same, as is candidly avowed⁴, and the worst inaccuracies of the original are perpetuated in the copies. This was scarcely to be expected in the Plan executed under the direction of the Prussian Consul; whose long residence in Jerusalem must have made him

³ The Plan of the City was published August 1, 1835; but the larger Plans and Sections connected with the Haram were first given to the world with Mr. Fergusson's Essay, in 1847.

⁴ See H. Kiepert's Memoir on the Maps, &c., (Sheet III.) 1st Appendix B. p. 39. in Vol. III. of the Biblical Researches, and the Title of the Plan, and of that in Dr. Schultz's Jerusalem.

intimately acquainted with every nook and corner of its various quarters. That Dr. Robinson should not have detected them was less strange, since he was there a comparatively short time; but it is somewhat amusing to find him gravely arguing about streets which have no real existence¹, and pronouncing dogmatically upon points with which his very Plan shews that he was profoundly ignorant². Great credit is, however, due to him for his careful and accurate measurement of the exterior walls, and for the full details that he has furnished of the several antiquities and objects of interest in and about the City.

The acquaintance which I had formed with the topography of Jerusalem, during a residence of fourteen months, enabled me to correct the most glaring inaccuracies in Mr. Catherwood's Plan; but as I had then no thought of publishing on the subject, I did not take the pains to make an accurate survey of the City. In my first edition, therefore, I adopted Mr. Catherwood's Plan as improved by Dr. Robinson, with such corrections as my local knowledge suggested; but as the engraving was executed during my absence from England, it was not so complete as I might have made it. Of all the Plans, therefore, hitherto published, the palm must be awarded to the beautifully executed engraving of Mr. Catherwood's survey, drawn under the direction of Herr Kiepert, and published at Berlin, with Dr. Schultz's

¹ As e. g. in the *Theological Review*, August, 1846, p. 430, where he truly remarks in n. 2, that there is in my Volume no distinct reference to a certain street; which is simply because it does not exist!

² See his notices of the Causeway, as cited and referred to in *H. C.* Vol. II. p. 392, n. 1. A comparison of his Plan with the Ordnance Survey will shew how much he was at fault here.

valuable Lecture on Jerusalem, in 1845. The limits of the Modern City, distinguished by a red tint, are clearly defined, and the Plan is, perhaps, as perfect as it was possible to procure under the formidable difficulties which Moslem fanaticism presented to an accurate survey.

2. *The Ordnance Survey.*

THE principal advantage derived to the world from the operations of the British fleet on the coast of Syria in 1840, and from the confusions consequent thereupon, was the opportunity afforded to the Royal Engineers of making an accurate Survey of the country. A detachment of that very efficient corps, under the command of Lieut.-Colonel Alderson, officered by Majors Wilbraham and Robe, Lieutenants Aldrich, Symonds, Skyring, and others, passed several months in the country after the bombardment of Acre, actively engaged in this work of inestimable importance to Sacred Literature. Their Geometrical Survey extended North as far as the banks of the Orontes and the range of the Taurus; to the South it comprehended the sources of the Jordan and the shores of the Dead Sea; and the astonished natives still recount and will long remember their exploits—how they erected their *nishân* (signal) on the summits of the loftiest hills, and were occupied for whole days in measurements and observations wholly unintelligible to their unsophisticated simplicity. Although the results of these labours have yet been given to the world only in fragments, yet have they already served to decide many important questions, and to stimulate the desire for the whole Survey, the value of which it is impossible to calculate.

To Lieut.-Colonel Alderson we owe the principal contribution from this fund of research that has yet been published, and his "Notes on Acre" must be regarded as the hopeful firstfruits of a golden harvest. This volume was published in 1844, in a series of "Papers on subjects connected with the Duties of the Corps of Royal Engineers," illustrated with plans of the principal maritime towns of Palestine, and a series of exquisite sketches from his own pencil. An Appendix to this Volume, subsequently published in the same series of Papers (Vol. VII.), contained a Plan of Jerusalem, with a Note by the same Officer. The Reverend John Blackburn first introduced me to this Plan, the execution of which I regarded as an æra in this branch of literature; for a single glance at its beautiful outline sufficed to convince me that the character which the Ordnance Office has established at home for precise accuracy of observation and minute fidelity of delineation, had been maintained on that distant survey; and I earnestly desiderated nearer access to its treasures. In this object I was greatly aided by Professor Willis, whom I had now the pleasure to reckon as a fellow-labourer in the same field of research. It happened also that Colonel Alderson, who now held an official appointment in the Ordnance Office, was in a position to forward our wishes with the liberality that distinguishes that branch of the public service, but with an interest and intelligence that could only be expected in one who had taken so active a part in the Survey. The unvaried kindness with which he received, and the readiness with which he answered, our frequent and troublesome enquiries, personal or epistolatory, are here acknowledged by my friend and myself with the

liveliest gratitude. Permission was procured from the Master-General to take a tracing of the original draught of the contoured Plan, which it was determined to publish on the scale of the original, for it had been reduced to one-third in the former engraving.

The tracing was beautifully executed by Mr. J. Nightingale, one of the principal draughtsmen of the Ordnance Department; and the Field-Book of the Survey without the Walls, most kindly placed at our disposal by Major Aldrich, enabled Professor Willis to test the accuracy of the plotting. We had only to regret that the absence from England of Major Symonds exempted him from like importunity. We have however troubled him with enquiries on the points of chief importance, through Colonel Alderson, his replies to which will be embodied in the following pages.

II. THE GENERAL PLAN.

THE Survey of the exterior was commenced on the 25th of February, 1841, at 1 p.m., by Lieutenant Aldrich, with a $5\frac{1}{2}$ -inch theodolite and 100 ft. chain; Lieut. Symonds, with Schmalcalder's compass, commencing at the same time to survey the town and inside of the City-wall. The officers were assisted by six men of the royal corps, also engineers, and the survey occupied them six weeks. The ground about the town was sketched in by Lieutenant Symonds, during the illness of Lieutenant Aldrich; and the Castle was surveyed by Colonel Alderson himself.

The late successes of the British arms on the Coast of Syria, and the military array of the detachment, not only secured them from all molestation in their undertaking, but engaged for them the active co-operation

of the Natives: so that the City and environs were thoroughly surveyed, except that, in the exercise of a wise and considerate forbearance, they did not force an entrance into the Haram, lest they should offend the religious prejudices of the Moslems.

I must here allude to an accidental advantage in the Ordnance Survey quite independent of its intrinsic merits, viz. that it is no party Plan, and was designed for the support of no theory. It was simply a military survey, and the remarks with which it was accompanied were altogether of a scientific character, regarding merely its military capabilities of defence or exposure to attack. The surrounding valleys are viewed merely as "adding to its means of defence," the Church of the Ascension on the Mount of Olives as "a strong advanced work;" and the main importance of the City itself consists in its "affording considerable accommodation for troops, and a depôt for stores and provisions," as well as "a base for operations from the southern frontier."

As it was obviously most desirable that the Plan should retain this impartial character, as a basis for historical and archæological research, it has been a point of conscience with Professor Willis and myself so to insert what was necessary for the elucidation of the Antiquities as to preserve inviolate every trace of the original Survey. It will only be necessary to remark what comes under the description of *writing*, in order to distinguish these additions to the original Plan.

They consist of the *names*, ancient and modern, of the several hills, valleys, quarters, streets, &c. in and around the City, and necessarily of those *buildings* within the City whose names it was deemed advisable to

insert, and whose sites had not been marked in the Original Plan. Such inserted buildings are, therefore, shaded darker than the ordinary tint. Besides this, the traces of the ancient walls without the City, identified by Drs Robinson and Schultz, have been inserted in the same dark tint, and a second Plan of the Haram, grounded on an application of Mr. Catherwood's interior measures to the outlines of the Ordnance exterior Survey, is given in the right-hand corner. As regards the ancient divisions, the grounds of my conclusions are given at large in the Second Part of my book, and need not be here repeated: the names of the streets I have adopted from two works given in the Appendix. For the modern sites I have availed myself of the published researches of Drs Robinson and Schultz, the recollections of my friend, Mr. Young, (several years Consul at Jerusalem), and my own observations.

With these preliminary remarks, I proceed to a particular notice of such localities designated in the Plan as seem to require it—distinguishing by italics the names inserted in the Plan, or referred to by figures or letters.

III. INTERIOR OF THE CITY.

THE four principal Quarters, exclusive of the *Haram* or Moske-Enclosure, are, i. the *Christian*, ii. the *Armenian*, iii. the *Jews*', iv. the *Mohammedan Quarters*. A line drawn from the Western or *Jaffa Gate* down the *Street of David* to the *Haram*, and another drawn from the *Gate of Damascus* on the North, through the *Bazaars*, to the *Sion Gate* on the South, would divide the City into these four Quarters,—which I proceed to notice in the order observed on the Plan, employing

the same figures and letters of reference that are there used,—the former to designate the mediæval traditions and modern sites, the latter to mark the Antiquities and Remains of the Ancient City.

i. *The Christian Quarter.*

THIS occupies the North-western part of the City¹, and contains the principal Christian edifices, including the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, the Patriarchal Convent of the Greeks, and the Franciscan Monastery. To commence in the N.W. angle.

1. *Weley or Sheikh's Tomb.*—There is nothing remarkable in this. These small Oratories, dedicated to the memory of Moslem saints, are frequent in all parts of the East; for, as Maundrell drily remarks, “You will find among the Turks far more dead saints than living ones².” Sometimes they contain the tombs of a devotee, sometimes they are small cells, appropriated to particular sects or services, with an endowment in lands or houses.

Near this on the South is a mass of ancient masonry built against the wall, called by the natives *Goliath's Castle*. It is, beyond doubt, the Tower mentioned in the History of the Crusaders' Siege³, as that over against which Tancred was encamped, and which

¹ A more particular description of this Quarter is given in H. C. Vol. II. p. 13.

² Journey under March 3, p. 10. These structures are well described by this truthful writer. “They are stone fabrics, generally six or eight yards square, more or less, and roofed with a cupola; erected over the graves of

some eminent Sheiks, that is, such persons as by their long beards, prayers of the same standard, and a kind of Pharisaical superciliousness,—which are the great virtues of the Mahometan religion—have purchased to themselves the reputation of learning and saints.”

³ H. C. Vol. I. p. 368.

was afterwards called by his name. Some remains of the masonry are very solid, and the stones bevelled. The tower very possibly belonged to one of the more ancient walls.

2. *Greek Nunnery and Alms-House of S. Basil.*—One of several similar establishments belonging to the Orthodox Greeks, which require no particular notice.

3. *The House of the Sardinian Consul.*

4. *Greek Convent of S. Theodore.*—Chiefly occupied by Russian Pilgrims.

Between 2 and 4 is the *Latin Convent* of S. John the Divine, now occupied by the titular Latin Patriarch, until a palace can be built, in which reside twelve or fifteen Franciscan monks, chiefly Spaniards, under the direction of a Superior, who bears the title of Guardian of the Holy Land, and to whom are subject all the brethren of his Order in all Palestine⁴. The *Casa Nuova* is the Hostelry of this Convent, in which pilgrims of all nations, without respect to their faith, are permitted to sojourn for a fortnight. They are at their own charges, the Convent only providing good bread, and bad wine, and expecting a liberal offering to their funds, in return for poor accommodation.

The site of this Convent is the highest in the City, an important fact in its Archæology, which has been fully proved⁵, and is further illustrated by the following story from Quaresmius⁶. “Forty years ago,” (he writes *cir.* 1630), “some Turks of Jerusalem, instigated by hatred of the Brethren, persuaded the Governor that this Convent was higher than the Castle of the

⁴ H. C. Vol. II. pp. 568, 569.

⁵ Ib. Vol. II. p. 26, and notes.

⁶ Elucidatio T. S. Tom. II. p.

52.

City. Wherefore, by imperial decree, many of the higher buildings were cast down to the earth, and the traces of the habitations are yet to be seen. Indeed," he adds, "the position is elevated, and from its ground, but particularly from the roof of its Church, nearly all the Holy Places of Jerusalem, and the surrounding sites without, are visible.

5. *Small ruined Mosk.*

6. *Residence of the Russian Consul.*—This House is directly opposite to the *Patriarchal Convent of Constantine*, to which it belongs. The Greek Patriarch has lately erected a Palace immediately to the West of the Russian Consul's residence.

7. *Part of the Greek Convent of Constantine.*—This Convent, which is very extensive, is carried by an arch over the Street of the Patriarch to the *Church of the Holy Sepulchre*, whose Dome is accessible from the terrace of the Convent. This Convent is the seat of the Synod, and is inhabited by about 100 monks, of all grades¹. On the East side of the Street is the Convent Chapel, called the Church of Constantine, in which the Brethren celebrate the Hours: and its tinkling bell, summoning to early prayer, disturbs the deep silence of the Holy City two or three hours after midnight.

8. *The Greek Churches for Native Christians.*—The Parish-churches, in fact, of the orthodox natives, where prayers are said and Sacraments administered in the vernacular language, by the town-priests, of whom there are six². These Churches, and all the other buildings connected with or attached to the Holy Sepulchre, are

¹ H. C. Vol. 11. p. 547.

² Ib. Vol. 11. p. 578.

given on a much larger scale in another Plan, with a sufficiently-detailed description³.

9. *Mosk and Minaret*.—This building once formed part of the *Hospital of the Knights of S. John*. It was the usual residence of Saladin after the taking of the City⁴. The Mosk is called Ed-Derkah, and was endowed by a nephew of Saladin A.H. 613, (A.D. 1216). The *Minaret*, an object of no small annoyance to the Christians on account of its proximity to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, was built before A.H. 820 (A.D. 1417), ruined by an earthquake in 863 (1459), rebuilt on its old foundations before 870 (1465)⁵.

10. *Greek Convent of Gethsemane*.—It appears that the Christians were allowed to retain possession of part of the same *Hospital*, only that it was transferred from the Latins to the Greeks.

Close to this, on the East, is the fine ruined gateway that attracts the notice of all travellers as they pass from the Court of the *Church of the Holy Sepulchre* to the *Bazaars*. In the middle of the arch may be read the word “Luna,” on either side which, running round the arch, are the names of the months, in Latin, six on either side⁶.

It leads through a small court which now forms part of a tannery (Debâghah), to the apse of a ruined Church, from whence is an ascent to a cloistered quadrangle of small dimensions⁷, whose southern side is occupied by an ancient chapel, now used as a depository for dung—the fuel for a neighbouring bath. It presents

³ In H. C. Vol. II. Chap. iii. and Plate III. to that chapter.

⁴ H. C. Vol. I. p. 419.

⁵ See Mejr-ed-din, pp. 123, 4.

⁶ Schultz's Jerusalem, p. 31; Krafft, p. 255; and Inscriptions, No. 11.

⁷ H. C. Vol. I. pp. 390, 91.

features of Western architecture in its pointed arches and round lights over the place of the altar at the East end. Parallel to the Chapel on the South are two large rooms, which probably served for dormitory and refectory to the Nunnery of S. Mary the Great.

On the opposite side of *Palmer's Street*¹ is a tannery, on the site of the Benedictine nunnery of *S. Mary the Less*, called also in the Norman Chronicle *Seinte Marie la Latine*. A deed of gift of King Amaury, dated June A.D. 1174², apports between the *Hospital of S. John* and the Nunnery of *Great S. Mary*, a street which formerly led between the two buildings from *Palmer's Street*, into the Street of the Patriarch's Baths (marked the *Street of the Patriarch*), so called from the *Bath*, that still exists, and is supplied with water from the Pool of the Patriarch's Baths (*Birket Hammam el-Batrak*), which is fed by an aqueduct from the *Pool of Mamilla*.

This *Pool of the Bath* has lately become a point of importance, owing to its supposed identity with the Pool of Hezekiah, "between the two walls;" a position which I have controverted at length in another place, and which is supported by no ancient testimony³. It doubtless represents the Amygdalon, or Almond-Pool, mentioned by Josephus in his account of the siege by Titus⁴: of which more will be said when I come to speak of Ancient Jerusalem.

¹ Called by Mejr-ed-din the Street Derkah, from the Cell above noticed.

² Schultz's Jerusalem, pp. 115, 116. His explanation is very confused, and cannot be relied on. S. Mary the Great is mentioned by William of Tyre,

lb. xix. cap. iv. p. 958. Both are noticed by James of Vitry, cap. LVIII. p. 1078.

³ H. C. Vol. II. pp. 36—39, &c.

⁴ Bell. Jud. v. xi. 4. H. C. Vol. I. p. 180, and Vol. II. pp. 19, 24, 33.

The dimensions of this tank, as measured by Dr Robinson⁵, are 240 feet by 144. "The bottom is rock, levelled, and covered with cement, and on the West side the rock is cut down for some depth." There is a descent to it by steps at the N. W. angle, and the water, which in the rainy season runs in from the rude aqueduct at the South-west corner, occupies only a small part of the Pool in the South-east angle.

On the North of the Pool is a large pile of new buildings, commenced as a *Convent* or Caravansery by the *Copts*, but abandoned on the expulsion of Ibrahim Pasha, and lately converted into barracks for the Turkish garrison⁶.

11. *Greek Schools*.—Besides the Higher School for the Greeks in the Great Convent, presided over by the Didaskalos⁷, there are Schools for native children of their rite, where they are taught to read and write, and receive instruction in the principles of the faith⁸.

12. *Church of Greek Schismatics*.—This name, by all rules of right and reason, belongs to the separatists from the Orthodox Greek Church, though it is sometimes improperly applied to those who remain constant to their old profession. They are allowed to retain the

⁵ Bib. Res. i. p. 487.

⁶ H. C. Vol. II. p. 567.

⁷ H. C. Vol. II. p. 543.

⁸ A lively description of a native school is given in Lowthian's "Palestine," 1843, 4; an unpretending little volume, which contains some curious notices of the trades in Jerusalem, together with much trash: he found "ten or a dozen boys, of about seven or eight years of age, all sitting in a circle cross-legged on the floor, like so many tailors, with

the master among them sitting in the same posture. They had every one an Arabic book in his hand, and all read aloud together, keeping their bodies in a rocking motion, so that their faces nearly touched their books, and they all kept time with each other in the most orderly manner . . . They were very attentive to their lessons, never once taking their eyes from their books, even to look at a stranger." p. 80. Most exemplary children!

liturgy and language of their own Church, and to communicate in both kinds—the addition of the “Filioque,” recognition of the Papal Supremacy, and the use of unleavened bread, being the only indispensable conditions of Communion with the Latin Church.

13. *Residence of the French Consul*.—It overlooks the Pool of the Bath. This functionary has lately procured the filling up of the small tank, between his residence and the city-wall, called the Bath of Bath-seba¹, which was a nuisance to all the neighbourhood, and the miasma from which was sufficient to create a pestilence.

14. *Residence of the English Bishop*.—Erected for a Jew named Hamselik, a British subject, lately deceased; a good and commodious residence, but very noisy; what was the *Corn Market* in the time of the Crusades being now the *Green Market* of the city, and the discordant sounds of the market-women remind one of the vociferations of the fish-wives of Billingsgate.

15. *Greek Church and Convent of the Forerunner*.—Formerly one of the most beautiful monasteries of the Orthodox, but on its falling to decay the Turkish authorities long opposed its restoration². It was, however, renewed a few years since, when the excavations for new foundations discovered a vaulted room beneath fifteen or twenty feet of rubbish³.

ii. *Armenian Quarter.*

THE *Armenian Quarter* is bounded by the city-wall from the *Jaffa Gate* to the *Sion Gate*. A street run-

¹ Ewald's Missionary Journal, p. 240.

² Προσκυνητάριον, p. 65.

³ See H. C. Vol. II. p. 529, n. 4.

ning from *the Bazaars* southward nearly to the last-named gate, divides it on the East from the *Jews' Quarter*.

16. *House of the English Consul*.—It was in great part built by Mr. Young, who, on his return to England, disposed of it to the Prussian Government. It stands on the northern brow of Sion, formerly precipitous, and even now declining steeply to *David's Street*, to which is a descent by steps down a bank composed of ruins. The house commands a fine view of the City.

17. *Syrian Church of S. James, in ruins*.—Confiscated by the Turks, and “Wakf” of the Haram, an important term well explained by Dr Schultz⁴. “The greatest part of the landed property of the city is ‘Wakf,’ *i. e.* it belongs to the Mosks, Churches, or public institutions. The Wakf is therefore distinguished into ‘Wakf el-Haram,’ the property of the great Mosk; ‘Wakf el-Tekiyeh,’ property of the Hospital of Helena; ‘Wakf Franji,’ Frankish Church-property, or the property of the great Latin Convent; ‘Wakf Rûmi,’ the property of the Greek Church; ‘Wakf Armani,’ that of the Armenian Church; and so on. Other property is held on such a tenure that should the holder leave no male heirs, or no heirs at all, the property goes to some public institution: this is called ‘milk maukuf’ (*manus mortua*)⁵. The smallest part of the landed property is freehold, in private hands (‘milk’), the revenues of which are divided, on

⁴ Jerusalem, pp. 32, 33.

⁵ This does not precisely answer to our notion of property held “in mortmain.” I am informed that in technical language it would be said of such

property that the “particular estate” belongs to the individuals who have a life interest in it; the “contingent remainder” is in the public institution, whatever it may be.

the death of the proprietor, into twenty-four parts, 'Kirat;' so that almost every estate has several proprietors."

18. *Church and Premises of the London Jews' Society.*—Occupying a plot of ground formerly belonging to the Syrians. I have already noticed¹ the ancient sewer found by Mr. Johns on sinking a shaft to the depth of 40 feet to form a foundation for the North transept of the Church. The difficulties which he ably surmounted in executing his ill-requited task, have been well described and faithfully delineated by himself, in his account of "the Anglican Cathedral Church of S. James," since called Christ's Church.

Opposite to these premises is the present *Citadel* (*El-Kal'ah*), once the Castle of the Pisans, and the *Castle of David*, of which a separate Plan, on a much larger scale, is given in the corner of the Plate. It consists of three principal towers connected by a rampart with a bastion of very fine masonry sloping down into a deep dry ditch, which completely surrounds the citadel, and is crossed on the city side by a drawbridge². "This work," writes Col. Alderson³, "though placed in a re-entering angle, is of considerable importance to the defence of Jerusalem: it has artillery mounted on it, and would require heavy artillery to breach it." Its importance is proved by the fact that, in the daring assault of the *fellahin* during Ibrahim Pasha's occupation of the country, they made themselves masters of the city, and held it several days, while the Egyptian garrison

¹ H. C. Vol. II. p. 31, and p. 489, note 3.

² Bib. Res. I. pp. 445, 456.

³ Addition to Notes on Acre. "Papers on Subjects," &c. Vol. VII. p. 47.

kept possession of the Castle throughout, which much facilitated the recovery of the town⁴. The interest attaching to these buildings in an archæological view will appear when I speak below of the Ancient City⁵.

19. *Hospital and Dispensary*.—The least unsatisfactory of all the departments of the London Society's Mission, where about twenty beds are always filled with Jewish invalids, who have the best medical advice from Dr Macgowan, surgeon of the Mission⁶.

20. *Syrian Convent. House of S. Mark*.—One of the oldest Convents in Jerusalem, and much venerated by Christians of all communities. It is the residence of the Syrian Bishop⁷, and has its full complement of traditions and relics; among the latter, the Font in which the Blessed Virgin was baptized, and, of course, the door at which S. Peter knocked.

21. *Oil-Mill, with Old Columns*.—Near this on the West is a new *Barrack* and exercise-ground for troops. "In digging deeply for the foundations of these barracks, many remains of walls and buildings were discovered⁸."

22. *Flour-Mill*.—Between this and 23 is the *Armenian Patriarchal Convent of S. James*⁹, the largest establishment of the kind in the city, capable of affording accommodation to 3000 pilgrims. They profess to shew the place of the Martyrdom of S. James the brother of John. The Church is richly ornamented. It has a fine library. Its gardens are very agreeable, and

⁴ H. C. Vol. I. p. 454, n. 4.

⁵ See also H. C. Vol. II. pp. 15, 16.

⁶ H. C. Vol. II. p. 594.

⁷ Ibid. Vol. II. p. 562.

⁸ Bib. Res. I. p. 459.

⁹ More fully noticed in H. C. Vol. II. pp. 559, 60.

the most extensive in the city. It formerly belonged to the Georgians.

23. *Greek Nunnery of S. George*—called “the Hebrew¹,” from its proximity to the Jews’ Quarter.

24. *A Pottery Manufactory*.—We shall find two beds of Potters’ Clay in the Valley of Hinnom without the Sion Gate, so that this pottery is conveniently situated. I remember to have received an illustration of Jeremiah xviii. 1—10, in a pottery not far from No. 41, in the traditionary house of Simon the Pharisee; indeed, the crypt of the ruined Church of S. Mary Magdalene was the House of the Potter—“and, behold, he wrought a work upon the wheels.” This process seemed to have a peculiar significancy at Jerusalem, owing to these associations.

Just South of the Pottery, and hard by the City-gate, are the *Lepers’ Huts*, a set of miserable, low, clay hovels, the habitations of these unfortunates, who are now found only at Jerusalem and Nablouse. Dr Schultz had occasion to visit them², and ascertained their numbers to be twenty-seven, men, women, and children; Mohammedans. They are allowed to intermarry, and thus propagate this loathsome malady, which is hereditary. They receive a miserable pittance for their maintenance from the government, which they are fain to eke out by begging. And a most pitiable and disgusting sight it is to see the poor wretches, laid at the entrance of the Gates of the City, asking alms of the passengers, with outstretched hands, or stumps, in various stages of decay, under the influence of this devouring disease, for

¹ Προσκυνητάριον, p. 65.

² Schultz’s Jerusalem, p. 30. Compare Bib. Res. i. p. 351.

which I believe no effectual remedy is known. I saw no case of that whiteness which is mentioned in Scripture as the symptom of this disorder; but I own that my eyes shrank with horror from the contemplation of such misery, and I avoided contact with them as I would with one plague-stricken.

iii. *Jews' Quarter.*

THIS occupies the eastern half of that part of *Mount Sion* that is included in the modern city, and overhangs the western brink of the *Valley of the Tyropæon*.

25. *The Shambles*.—This abominable nuisance is supposed to have been brought here to annoy the Jews. It was here, however, in the time of the Crusaders, as is witnessed by the Norman writer given in the Appendix³. The sooner the Pasha adopts Mr. Ewald's suggestion and removes it, the better⁴.

26. *Synagogues of the Ashkenazim and Sephardim*.

27. *Synagogue of Portuguese Jews*.

28. *A Mosk and Minaret*.—The situation of this Mosk in the heart of the Jews' Quarter, will illustrate the story told in H. C. Vol. I. p. 443. The Minaret was built subsequently to A. H. 800⁵. (A. D. 1398.)

iv. *Mohammedan Quarter.*

THIS most extensive of the four Quarters of Jeru-

³ Section iii. This, however, is one of the most glaring of the numerous instances of confusion arising from his use of *right* and *left* in his description. He is describing the *Street of the Temple*, and says, that "on your *left* as you proceed down this street to go to the Temple is the Butchery where flesh is sold to the citizens." That he

should here have written *right*, is evident from a second error, that helps to correct the former; for he says, "on the *right* is another street, called the Germans'," leading to the Hospital. This should be "on the *left*," as the situation of the Hospital proves.

⁴ Journal, p. 241.

⁵ Mejir-ed-din, p. 124.

saalem, is subdivided into smaller Quarters, of which I have marked only the *Haret Bab el-Hitta* at the N. E. of the City.

29. *Principal Khan*.—This large Caravanserai is conveniently situated with reference to the *Bazaars*, as is the case in all the Eastern cities. These Khans consist principally of stables for camels or horses, but are sometimes provided with accommodation for man as well as beast. In this case, however, the chambers are unfurnished, and the lodger has to board himself. The Orientals know nothing of hotels, in our acceptation of the term.

The *Bazaars* are of solid construction, supposed to be the work of the Greeks; and former travellers used to say that there were none in all the East to be compared to them¹. They were arranged like the nave and aisles of a church, the former rising into a clere-story, and terminating at the south end in a dome, covered with lead. The eastern aisle is now considerably curtailed. In former times the three lines were assigned to different articles of commerce, but the arrangement varied with time, and is now, I believe, wholly disregarded. In the 15th Century the western row was for spicery, and its rents and revenues were attached to the school built by Saladin; the middle was the Green-market, for herbs and vegetables; the third, on the east, was the mart for stuffs. The distribution which I have followed is that of the Norman writer in the 12th century, not so clearly stated as the other. If I comprehend him aright, the western line was then the market for herbs, fruits, and spicery; the middle row was

¹ Mejr-ed-din, p. 125.

called the *Covered Street*, and devoted to the stuffs and drapery of the Latins; the third, called by a name which I cannot comprehend², was occupied by the cooks' shops for the pilgrims, and by the hair-dressers of the City. From the *Covered Street* one passed through the *Latin 'Change* to the *Street of the Arch of Judas*; and from the *Street of Herbs* to that of *Mount Sion*.

The *Street of the Temple*, leading to the Haram from the Bazaars, is carried across a deep valley by an artificial *Causeway*, which seems to be noticed as "The Bridge" by the Norman writer³.

30. *Saracenic Fountain (now dry)*, of very exquisite architecture, formerly supplied from the Pools of Solomon, and probably constructed in the 15th Century. It is noticed by Uri of Biel, (A. D. 1564), but by no earlier writer⁴.

Near this is the *Hammam es-Shefa* (the Bath of Healing), formerly known as the Bath of Aladdin, explored by Mr Wolcott⁵, supposed to be connected with the Haram, and supplied with the peculiar water of Siloam. It is entered from the *Cotton Mart*, a ruined Bazaar, formerly occupied by the cotton-merchants, who also gave their name to the contiguous Gate of the Haram.

31. *House of the Prussian Consul*.—Nearly opposite to this is *El-Tekiyeh*, commonly known as the Hospital of Helena. It is a huge pile of ruined buildings,

² *Mal-quis-mat*, and *malquimat* in section iii., and *masquimat* in section v. In the first of these passages it seems to be identified with the *rue des Herbes*, but in the last it is plainly distinguished from it.

³ Section iii. "*sur le pont*," evidently in the street. It is mentioned

again in section v., where the street running down from the S. Stephen's (*i. e.* the Damascus) Gate to the Postern of the Tannery (probably the Dung Gate), is said to pass "*droit par dessous le pont*."

⁴ H. C. Vol. II. p. 502.

⁵ Ibid. pp. 457—461.

consisting of a series of extensive chambers, richly ornamented in the best style of Saracenic domestic architecture. It must formerly have been a palace of some celebrity; but I have not been able to discover any notices of it in earlier travellers. I take it to be the building mentioned by Mejir-ed-din¹, as erected by one Dame Tonshok, in A. H. 794, (A. D. 1391.) This charitable lady it probably was who permanently endowed the kitchen of her establishment for the daily supply of food to the poor; thus, unconsciously, vindicating her claim to the name of the munificent Dowager Queen of Adiabene, which posterity has conferred upon her, with whose palace, however, I fear the house in question cannot be identified². The *sportula* is still doled out in the kitchen daily, and the enormous caldrons in which the food is prepared rival the capacious porridge-pot of Guy of Warwick. This Hospital is possessed of houses in the City, and the village of Beit Jala, near Bethlehem, is its property³. The street in which it stands took the name of Lady's Street (Ak-bet-es-Sit) from this building; but I have restored its more ancient and convenient name of *Market Street* (Akbet-es-Sûk⁴.)

32. *Mohammedan School.*

33. *Saracenic Fountain (now dry)*, also mentioned by Uri of Biel⁵, and probably of the same date as No. 30.

¹ p. 127.

² For it was situated in the middle of Acra proper, *i.e.* the hill (Bell. Jud. vi. vii. 2) See the notice of Queen Helena's munificence in H. C. Vol. i. p. 152. Dr Robinson suggests that this may be the Hospital of S. Gregory the Great, or of the Emperor Jus-

tinian (B. R. II. p. 30, note 4); and finds a confirmation of his hypothesis in the Byzantine architecture of its purely Saracenic portal.

³ So Dr Robinson learnt from a native of the village. B. R. II. p. 322.

⁴ Mejir-ed-din, p. 127.

⁵ H. C. II. p. 502.

34. *College for Blind Derwishes.*—The Muezzin, whose duty it is to call the hours of prayer from the minarets, are commonly taken from this class; an admirable device for obviating the inconvenience that might otherwise arise from the curiosity of these officials, who from their commanding elevation might pry into the house-top privacy of the neighbouring families. So many convents, schools, and religious houses of the Moslems are situated in this part, that it is difficult to assign to them their proper dates and founders, and not a matter of any interest or importance.

35. *Traditionary House of Dives.*

36. *Traditionary House of S. Veronica.*

37. *College for Indian Pilgrims.*—Apparently the lodging assigned to Ali-Bey during his visit, called by him the Mosk of Sidi Abd-el-Kader⁶.

Near this is the private *residence of the Pasha*, which he occupies with his family: *the Seraiyah*, hard by, being the Government-house, standing on the site of Antonia, which was doubtless the official *House of Pilate*. It affords accommodation now, as then, to a garrison of soldiers.

38. *Arch of the "Ecce Homo;"*—called also the Arch of Pilate; was known in the time of the Frank Kingdom as the "Dolorous Gates;" and the *Via Dolorosa*, which it spans, was then called the Street of Jehoshaphat⁷. It is mentioned by all travellers from the period of the Crusades, and portrayed by many. It formerly exhibited, in large Latin characters, on its East face, the words "Tolle, Tolle, Crucifige Eum, &c."⁸

⁶ No. 65 in Plate LXXI., and Vol. II. p. 213, of the Travels.

⁷ Norman writer, sect. vii.

⁸ Adrichomius in voc. Jerusalem, No. 120, p. 164. Bernardino p. 25. Quaresmius, Tom. II. p. 206, &c.

39. *Place of the Scala Santa*.—Here are seen two old archways, built up in the wall of the *Seraiyah*, from which they say that the double staircase of twenty-eight steps was removed by Constantine the Great, or his mother; and, being brought to Rome, was placed before the doors of S. John Lateran, where they are still shewn¹. One thing only is certain, that they have given occasion to much superstition.

The Church of the Flagellation.—This tradition probable dates from the Frank occupation of the City, as do so many others. The Church, after serving as a stable and weaver's shop, has been lately restored, by the Franciscans². In the yard is a living well of Siloam water.

40. *Mosk of Derwishes. Traditionary Palace of Herod*.

41. *Ruined Church. Traditionary House of Simon the Pharisee*;—called, in the time of the Franks, the Monastery of S. Mary Magdalene. It gave the name of the *Mary* to this part of the City, where most of the citizens then resided³.

The Church of S. Ann.—The supposed birth-place of the Blessed Virgin, formerly an abbey of black nuns, richly endowed as a scientific college and hospital by Saladin, whose private secretary and biographer, Bohadin, was its first superior⁴. It had been in ruins many years when Tayar Pasha undertook its restoration in 1842⁵. The rubbish was thrown into the neighbouring *Birket Israïl* or *Pool of Bethesda*; a name formerly given to another large tank before this Church,

¹ Quaresmius, II. p. 183.

² H. C. Vol. II. pp. 461, 2.

³ Norman description, section vii.

⁴ Vid. Excerpta ex Abulfeda, p. 56,

and conf. Vita Saladini, p. 267, ed. Schultens.

⁵ Schultz's Jerusalem, p. 32. See Bibl. Res. I. p. 344.

supposed to be the Lower Pool formed by Hezekiah. It was already dry in the time of Saladin's conquest, and in course of time has disappeared⁶.

v. *El-Haram es-Sherif.*

SOME further preliminary observations will be necessary before entering on the particular description of this area, of which a supplementary Plan is given in the right-hand corner of the Plate: for as the necessary illustration of its antiquities would have disguised the features of the original survey, which we resolved most religiously to preserve, this expedient was adopted in order to obviate the difficulty.

The Engineer Officers, as has been said, did not attempt to enter the precincts of the Haram: they contented themselves with laying down from measurements the external boundary and walls, and fixing with the utmost precision the positions of the minarets and of the Dome of the Rock by the theodolite. The mosks themselves, and the lesser buildings which occupy the area, were merely laid down in block, from sketches taken from the neighbouring buildings and heights. Thus the general arrangement of the ground was obtained with much greater precision than had been before attempted, and with sufficient detail for the purposes of a military survey.

But for antiquarian and historical investigations more details are manifestly necessary; and the object of the supplementary Plan of the Haram is to combine the accurate measurements and positions of the military survey with such detailed plans and particulars as could be derived from other sources.

⁶ H. C. Vol. II. p. 485, n. 5. Norman description, sect. vii.

Mr. Catherwood's survey¹ of the interior of the Haram is by far the most complete that has been attempted, on account of the ample opportunity afforded him, and the assistance of his friends, then residing in Jerusalem²; and to him we ourselves are further indebted for many measurements and much private information, with liberal permission to make use of it.

His proceedings, however, were brought to an abrupt conclusion by the approach of Ibrahim Pasha, and a comparison of his Plan with that of the Officers', will shew that, although he succeeded in laying down minute architectural plans of the edifices that occupy the area, his general survey of that area must have been left incomplete; for it is impossible to doubt the exactness of the military survey, and the discrepancies between the two are, in some instances, very great.

The most important discrepancy is that which will be at once observed in the Western boundary of the Haram; for, according to the Ordnance Plan, its continuity is broken towards its southern part by two re-entering angles, while in Mr. Catherwood's it runs in the same line from the northern to the southern extremity. As the question affects the outer walls of the Haram, the Officers are indisputable authorities, and the accuracy of their Plan in other respects does not permit us to suspect it of incorrectness here; particularly as the minarets situated near the N.W. and S.W. angles were both of them fixed as

¹ It was embodied in his general Plan above noticed (p. 7), and some fuller details had been supplied to Dr. Robinson and Mr. Bartlett. But it was first published in a complete form

in Mr. Fergusson's Essay in A.D. 1847.

² The circumstances under which it was made are detailed by Mr. Catherwood himself in his letter in Bartlett's Walks, p. 161.

angular-points in their trigonometrical survey. Still it appeared so strange that this peculiarity should have escaped the notice of all former travellers, Mr. Catherwood not excepted, that it seemed right to subject it to the severest scrutiny. Major J. F. A. Symonds, in a letter to Colonel Alderson, dated Corfu, June 6, 1847, in answer to our enquiries, writes, "I have found my Field-book and papers relating to Jerusalem, and after a careful search I am happy to inform you that we are perfectly right with regard to the disputed angle. I give you here an accurate sketch out of my Field-book, which I took myself on the spot." This sketch is precisely the same as the original contoured plan in the Ordnance Office, to which Major Symonds confidently appeals for *correct* details.

That this feature of the Western wall has escaped the notice of former travellers, may be accounted for by the fact that the houses abutting upon the Haram on this side³, and the excessive jealousy with which its approaches are guarded, present almost insuperable difficulties to an examination of this wall. Thus, I remember, when I was one day threading the maze of streets in quest of the *Jews' Wailing-place* (z), and a wrong turn had led me towards the *Gate of the Prophet* (41), I was convinced of my mistake by the exclamations of the black slaves at the Gate, who motioned me away with menacing gestures. This Gate, situated at the southern extremity of the Wailing-place, gives entrance to the Mosk-enclosure, but is chiefly used by the family of Abu Se'ud Effendi, the principal entrance to whose house is just within the gate; while there is a back-entrance (38) a little to the North of the *Ruined Arch* (y).

³ See the remark of Mr. Tipping as cited in H. C. Vol. II. p. 321.

This house was obviously the main cause of embarrassment, the fact being that it does form an angle in the western wall of the Haram, as is also represented in Mr. Catherwood's Plan, and that the wall being thus broken, does not resume the same direct line, as he imagined, but is continued in a line many feet to the West. This enables us to reconcile the discrepancies between his plan and the Officers' Survey. In our detailed Plan of the Haram this part is filled in from observations made by Mr. Young on occasional visits to Abu Se'ud Effendi.

The second angle at the *Mehkemeh*, or Town-Hall, just South of the *Causeway*, is also marked in Mr. Catherwood's Plan, but the error of continuing the wall in the same line is again repeated.

In our supplementary Plan of the Haram, therefore, we have laid down the detailed plans of the *Dome of the Rock*, and of *El-Aksa* with its appendages, on the authority of Mr. Catherwood, but have adopted the positions and boundaries of the Ordnance Survey throughout; while in the general Plan we have preserved untouched the original Ordnance Survey, the exactness of which in respect to the disputed points is fully borne out by the most faithful drawings of those artists who have of late years sketched the area from buildings or elevations in its vicinity¹.

The Plan and Sections given by Ali Bey were manifestly drawn without measurement, and from memory only; but with wondrous care and exactness, considering

¹ An inspection of Lady Louisa Tenison's and Mr. Tipping's views of the West Wall of the Haram, from the opposite brow of Sion, and of M.

Girault de Prangey's beautiful and very accurate view of the Haram, taken from the roof of the Seraiyeh, will justify this remark.

this difficulty. Their chief value now consists in the curious information which they supply concerning the use of the buildings for the Mohammedan Ritual.

The principal authority for the places within the Haram is Mejr-ed-din, the Arabic historian so often quoted and referred to. As a translation of his description is given in the Appendix, it will not be necessary to repeat the particulars here. I will merely refer to the sections in his chapter where the various sites are noticed and the names explained. It will be observed that the numbers from 1 to 41 are repeated on the duplicate Plan, as are also the letters from *a* to *s*. The Mosks, &c., have been described in detail in the fourth Chapter of the Second Volume of the Holy City.

1. *Mihrab of David, called also of Omar* (§ 1).

This word *Mihrab* is explained to mean "the place in the Temple where the Imam stands, and turning towards Mecca, leads the prayers of the people²." They are found not only in mosks, but in dwellings, and are mostly shallow recesses in the wall, under a Saracenic arch, to shew the bearing of the Caaba of Mecca. In some of the principal mosks, as at Constantinople, they are richly ornamented, and have adopted the use of candles from the Christian altars.

2. *Minbar or Throne* (§ 1).—A lofty pulpit where the Khotbah, or Friday Office for the reigning Prince, is recited³: it is called also the Maksurah. D'Herbelot says, "it was Moavia who first introduced the Mak-

² Willmet's Lexicon, *sub voce* حَرْب (p. 183 b.) H. C. II. p. 307.
Compare Ali Bey's Travels, II. p. 127.

³ *Locus elatior, suggestus*. Id. *sub* نَبْر *voc.* (p. 709 b.) H. C. I. c. and Ali Bey, *ibid*.

surah into the mosks, *i. e.* a separate and elevated place, where the Khalif, who was alike the chief priest of the religion and supreme governor of the state, commenced chanting the solemn prayer, which is, so to say, the public office of the Musulmans. In the same place he addressed to the people the Khotbah, which is a kind of sermon or lecture¹.”

3. *Mihrab of Moaviah* (§ 1).—The person mentioned above. He was son of Abu Sofian, and first Khalif of the House of Ommiah (A. D. 656). He had been governor of Syria during the Khalifat of Othman, (644—656).

4. *Corner of the Circumcision* (§ 2).—This is said by Ali Bey to be called the Place of Christ, and used as a sacristy. He also speaks of a part railed off from the remainder of the Mosk, and revered as the Place of the Presentation². It is probably also the great Mihrab used as a granary by the Templars³, originally perhaps the apse of Justinian's Church of S. Mary.

5. *Gallery of the Muezzin* (Arab. *dikkah*), (§ 2).—A raised platform in marble elaborately carved, where the Ministers intone the Services.—The proper office of the Muezzin⁴ is to proclaim the hours of prayer from the minarets, but they also form the choir of the mosks.

6. *Porch of 'Ozair* (§ 2).—The Arabic form of the name Ezra.

7. *Porch and Mihrab of Zachariah*. 8. *Eastern Gate*.

9. *Western Gate* (§ 2.)

10. *Well of the Leaf* (§ 3).—Probably opening to a

¹ Bibliotheque Orientale, *sub voc.* Moaviah, p. 592, b.

² See Travels, Vol. II. p. 218, and the explanation of Plate LXXII, prefixed to Vol. I. p. xxxviii.

³ H. C. Vol. II. p. 382.

⁴ Willmet *sub v.* ^{عَزَّ}أَذَن p. 15, a. See above, p. 29.

large cistern formerly connected with the water-works of the Temple⁵.

11. *Mart of Science* (§ 4).

12. *Second Altar of David*, and descent to *the Cradle of Jesus* (§ 5), and *Vaults* (51).

13. [On the West wall, near 41]. *Descent of the subterranean Gateway*, mentioned by Ali-Bey⁶.

14. [On the East wall, opposite to 13]. *Judgment-seat of Mohammed*.—This legend is not noticed by Mejir-ed-din, and is probably of very late date. It is merely the shaft of a marble column accidentally projecting from the wall, which is pierced with a Saracenic arch behind it.

15. *Minbar used on Festivals, &c.* (§ 11).

16. *Dome of the Ascension of the Prophet* (§ 11).

17. *The Place of the Prophet* (§ 12).

18. *Place of el-Khudr*—i. e. the Valiant—so they designate S. George (§ 13).

19. *Cave of Spirits.* 20. *Dome of Solomon.*

21. *Dome of Moses.* 22. *Dome of the Grammarians.*

23. *Dome of the Roll.* 24. *Retreat of Kashan.*

25. *Cell of Bostam.* 26. *Cell of Samed* (§ § 13—19).

27—34. *Steps ascending to the Platform*, with Saracenic arcades at the head of each flight.

35. *Prayer Stations*, generally connected with traditional recollections of some Moslem saint.

36. *Chambers connected with the Mosk el-Aksa*.—One of these on the ground-floor is in ruins, and open to the garden at the South of the Haram. It was from this chamber that Messrs. Wolcott and Tipping effected their entrance through a hole in the wall, and thus the former introduced me on two occasions.

⁵ H. C. Vol. II. p. 469.

⁶ Ib. Vol. II. pp. 308, 9.

37. *A projecting Balcony*.—A kiosk, or summer-chamber, formed in the thickness of the wall, in the court of the house of Abu Se'ud Effendi¹.

38. *Steps leading to the House of Abu Se'ud*.—These steps and the *Balcony* are seen in the prints from Mr. Tipping's drawings, in Traill's *Josephus*, (pp. xx. and xxv.)

39. *An open Court* of the house above-named.—It gives entrance to the *Schools* at the West end of the *Mosk Abu Bekr*².

40. *Southernmost Angle of the West wall*, where its line is broken by the House of Abu Se'ud.

41. *The Gate of the Prophet*.—Much misplaced in Mr. Catherwood's Plan (Plate IV., in Mr. Fergusson's *Essay*), who seems not to have surveyed this part with requisite care.

42. *Convents, Schools, Cells, &c.*—A full account of these and their several founders is given by Mejir-ed-din, in his twenty-first Chapter; but as it would be difficult to identify them, and a matter of very small importance, I have not thought worth while to attempt it. A French translation by Von Hammer is given in the *Mines d'Orient*, Tome ii. pp. 118—124.

43. *A Mosk*.

44. *Bab el-Jenni* (The gate of Paradise).—So called, no doubt, from the beautiful garden, mentioned by Edrisi, before this door, in the time of the Crusades³.

45. *Bab el-Gharb*, (Gate of the West).—In the porch is a well, which Mr. Catherwood thinks may communicate with the Bath of Healing (*Hammâm es-Shefa*⁴).

¹ H. C. Vol. II. pp. 321, 2.

² Ibid. p. 307.

³ See the quotation in H. C. Vol. II. p. 385, n. 6.

⁴ In Bartlett's *Walks*, p. 166, n. *

46. *Bab el-Kibli* (Gate of the South).

47. *Bab Daūd* (Gate of David), called by Mejir-ed-din, (§ 9,) "The Gate of Israfel," (the Angel of Death). "The East, West, and North doors have marble enclosed porches⁵." "The South Gate has a very fine portico, supported by eight Corinthian pillars of marble⁶."

48. *Dome of the Chain, or of David*, (§ 10).—Edrisi (p. 344) calls it the "Sanctum Sanctorum." The Crusaders named it the "Chapel of S. James⁷."

49. *Fountain*.—In the middle of the paved footway that leads from the platform to El-Aksa, which is shaded by venerable cypresses, is a fine basin of marble with a fountain in the form of a shell, which formerly supplied water⁸.

50. *Descent to Vaulted Corridor beneath the Mosk⁹*.

51. *Cradle of Jesus, and Descent to Substructions¹⁰*.

52. *Throne of Solomon*.—Mejir-ed-din (§ 14) gives this name to a Dome on the North of the Platform, near the gate of the Devadar. (See No. 20, above.)

IV. WALLS AND GATES.

Modern and Medieval.

THE existing wall, as has been said¹¹, was erected by Suliman I., the son of Selim I., and second Ottoman Sultan that held sway in Jerusalem. The inscriptions in various parts give the date of their erection as A. H. 948,

⁵ Mr. Catherwood, *ibid*.

⁶ Ali Bey, Vol. II. p. 219.

⁷ H. C. Vol. II. p. 304.

⁸ Catherwood l. c. p. 169, and Ali Bey, Travels, Vol. II. p. 218, and Vol. I. p. xxxvii. no. 47. See also H. C.

Vol. II. p. 469.

⁹ Fully described in H. C. Vol. II. pp. 309, 10.

¹⁰ *Ibid*. 311, 12.

¹¹ *Ibid*. Vol. I. p. 445.

(A. D. 154 $\frac{1}{2}$)¹. The materials of the old wall would, of course, be worked up in the new, as far as available; yet it may still be true that the stones were taken in part from quarries in the mountains about the City, but principally from ruined towns in the vicinity, and from desolated Christian Churches². If it be fact that the architect was put to death by the Sultan for not including the whole of Mount Sion—according to an ancient tradition³ still current among the Turks⁴ and natives—the Sultan must have intended him to extend the City to its ancient dimensions on the South, as the traces of the walls would have enabled him to do; for it is certain that the half of Mount Sion had been excluded for many centuries, so that the Sion Church was, as now, a bow-shot distant from the walls when beleaguered by the first Crusaders⁵. The wall has for the most part no artificial fosse; indeed, nature has obviated the necessity of it along a great part of the East, South, and West: and the dry ditch extending from *Herod's Gate* to that of *S. Mary* is very insignificant in a military view⁶. The fosse of the Citadel only is at all a formidable work.

The chief peculiarity of the wall, well exhibited in the sections, is the device of converting the rock itself into a defence, merely facing it with masonry. This

¹ Robinson's Bibl. Res. i. p. 384.

² Quaresmius, Elucid. T. S. Tom. II. p. 41.

³ Quaresmius, Tom. II. p. 41. Le Brun's Voyage, p. 298. Korten's Reise, p. 216, referred to by Dr Robinson, B. R. i. p. 470, note 6.

⁴ This story was repeated to Mr. Young by Haji Mohammed Ali, late Pasha of Jerusalem.

⁵ H. C. Vol. i. pp. 368, 9, and Willemus Tyr. Lib. VIII. sect. 5, p. 750, in Bongar.

⁶ See above, p. 22. Col. Alderson says: "The Valleys of the Kedron and Jehoshaphat on the East, of Ben Hinnom on the South, and of Gihon on the South-West, add considerably to its means of defence." Append. to Notes.

explained a difficulty which perplexed me at Jerusalem, particularly in the *Garden* at the South of the *Haram*. That garden, I observed within, was nearly on a level with the battlements of the wall, while viewed from without its wall had an altitude of 50 or 60 feet. I ascribed the difference of level to the accumulation of soil or *débris* within, as other travellers had done; the Officers were the first to discover the true cause, as shewn in Section I. I had also often remarked the same peculiarity in the wall at the angle marked as Section K, which is now satisfactorily explained in the same manner.

There are four Gates now commonly in use, facing the four Cardinal points. They have most of them several names. To begin on the West: *Bab el-Khalil*—("the Gate of Abraham," or "of Hebron;"—literally, "of the friend," *i.e.* of God, for the Moslems call the Patriarch himself and the City of his Sepulchre by his distinguished title⁷),—formerly known among the natives as *Bab el-Mihrab*⁸, ("the Gate of the Altar,") from the Mihrab of David in the contiguous fortress. It is now commonly known by Europeans as the *Jaffa Gate*, but anciently as "the Gate of David⁹." In this, as in other cases, I have inserted in the Plan the current native and Frank names.

The Northern Gate is called by the natives *Bab el-'Amûd*¹⁰ ("the Gate of the Column"), I know not why; rarely "*Bab es-Sham*" ("the Gate of Syria," or of its

⁷ Willmet's *Lex. in voc.* خَلِّ
(p. 252 b.) See 2 Chron. xx. 7; Isai. xli. 8; S. James ii. 23.

⁸ Edrisi (cir. A. D. 1150), Vol. i. p. 341, ed Jaubert. Mejir-ed-din, p. 129, gives both names.

⁹ "Porta David," so called by Ar-

culfus, A. D. 697. Adamnanus de Loc. Sanct. Lib. i. cap. 1. So also in the Chronicles of the Crusades, *e.g.* Gesta Dei, p. 572. Willermus Tyrensis, VIII. 5, p. 750.

¹⁰ More fully, 'Amûd el-Ghorab, by Edrisi, l. c. Mejir-ed-din, l. c.

capital "Damascus,"—for in Arabic the names are identical). It is now "*the Damascus Gate*" of the Europeans, but from the 7th to the 15th century was known as "S. Stephen's Gate¹," so named from the Church a furlong distant from it, supposed to mark the site of the Passion of the Protomartyr². In still earlier times it was called the "Gate of the Neapolis" *i. e.* Nablouse³.

The Eastern Gate is the *Bab Sitti Miryam* (or *S. Mary's Gate*) of the natives, Moslem and Christian, but commonly known among Europeans by the misnomer of "S. Stephen's Gate," a name transferred in the 15th century from the Northern Gate⁴. It is the Gate of Jehoshaphat of the Crusaders, otherwise called the Valley Gate, and Sheep Gate, absurdly taken by Quaresmius for the Gate Gennath! It is remarkable for four lions sculptured in relief over the gateway, probably the work of the Christians. Here, I think, we must look for the "small gate" of Arculfus, from which was a descent by steps to the Valley of Jehoshaphat⁵. It is sometimes confounded by Moslem writers with the contiguous gate of the Haram, *Bab es-Sabat*.

The Southern Gate is the *Sion Gate* of the Franks, but *Bab en-Nebi Daūd* ("the Gate of the Prophet David") of the Moslems⁶. In the time of Mejir-ed-din, it was called also "the Gate of the Jews."

¹ Arculfus first, *i. e.* and then all writers in succession, until Stephen Von Gumpenberg, A. D. 1449.

² This Church was destroyed by the Franks prior to the siege by Saladin, on account of its proximity to the walls, that it might not afford shelter to the assailants. Norman Chron. sect. v.

³ So the Bourdeaux Pilgrim, A. D.

333. See H. C. II. p. 97.

⁴ For fuller particulars, see H. C. Vol. II. p. 432, and notes.

⁵ "Portula, hoc est parvula porta, ab hac per gradus ad vallem Josaphat descenditur." Adamnanus, *l. c.*

⁶ This, however, seems to be quite a modern name among them. Edrisi gives it as *Bab es-Seihûn*, p. 341, as

Besides these Gates and those in the East and South walls of the Haram-enclosure, now built up⁷, are two other City Gates, one on the North, the other on the South, commonly closed; but the latter is occasionally opened in the summer to facilitate the introduction of water into the City from the Well of Nehemiah.

Of these, the Northern Gateway is found about halfway between *the Damascus Gate* and the N. E. angle of the City, about 1000 feet from that angle. Its native name is *Bab es-Zahari*, "the Gate of Flowers⁸." Its Christian name is *the Gate of Herod*, but more anciently "the Gate of Benjamin⁹."

The Southern closed gate is named by the natives *Bab el-Mugharibeh*¹⁰, "the Gate of the Western Africans," whose quarter formerly lay on the West side of the Haram, nearest to this Gate: and the gateway leading to it from the Haram—the Southernmost, *i. e.* in the West wall (41)—was sometimes called by the same name. This City Gate is called *the Dung Gate* by the Christians, with what reason will appear when I come to speak of the ancient City¹¹. It is apparently the "Tekoa Gate" of Arculfus¹²; "the Postern of the Tannery" of the

also does Mejir-ed-din, with the *alias* mentioned in the text, p. 129. It is the common name among the Chroniclers of the Crusades. *Gesta Dei*, p. 572. Will. Tyren. VIII. vi. xix.

⁷ Viz. *Bab ed-Dahariyeh* ("the Eternal Gate"), popularly called *the Golden Gate* (of which see H. C. Vol. II. pp. 315, 355—359). "The Gate of Borak," (p. 315), in the East wall (*u*): the Saracenic Portal (p. 313), the Great Roman Gateway (*ibid*), and the Double Gate of Justinian (*ibid*),

in the Southern wall (*u, w, x*).

⁸ But Mejir-ed-din, *Bab es-Saheré*. He mentions also the Gate ed-Dazjé, between the Bab el-'Amûd and this; but no traces of it remain. p. 129.

⁹ "Porta Benjamini." Arculfus l. c.

¹⁰ So Mejir-ed-din, l. c.; in p. 98 he gives this name to the Haram Gate, which I have called the *Gate of the Prophet*.

¹¹ Noticed by Brocardus in 1283 as "the Water Gate." Bib. Res. I. 478.

¹² "Porta Tecuitis," l. c.

Norman writer¹, doubtless so named from the fact of its leading to Siloam, where hides were dressed during the Frank Kingdom².

It will be further desirable to notice two Gates of the Middle Ages, which have disappeared in later times, viz. one in the North wall, apparently near its N.W. angle, not far from the *Castle of Goliath*, the other to the South of the *Jaffa Gate*, in the West wall of the City, contiguous to the *Armenian Convent*.

The earliest notice of the former is in the account of Arculfus, who calls it "the Gate of the Fuller's Villa,"³ perhaps from its leading to the *Turbet Mamillah*, which may have been already identified, erroneously, as I think, with the Fuller's Field⁴. This Gate is probably "the Postern of the Good Thief,"⁵ mentioned in the Norman Chronicle as situated over against the Infirmary, through which the Christians were admitted to visit secretly the Holy Sepulchre, when the jealousy of the Saracens prohibited them from passing through the public thoroughfares, lest they should acquaint themselves with the state of the City. The latest mention of it occurs in the description of Mejir-ed-din, where it is named "Bab es-Serb"⁶ ("the Gate of the Flock"). It was supposed by Brocardus to correspond in relative position with the *Porta Judiciaria* of the earlier walls, which was then, as now, inclosed in the City, (p.)

The small Gate, near the *Armenian Convent*, is noticed only by Mejir-ed-din, but I imagine that its place is marked by a buttress in the west wall of Sion at

¹ In Beugnot, sect. vii.

² See below, p. 55, n. 4.

³ 'Porta Villæ Fullonis,' Adamnanus, l. c. between the Gate of David

and that of S. Stephen.

⁴ As lately by Dr. Schultz, p. 82.

⁵ "La Posterne S. Ladre," sect. v.

⁶ L. c. p. 129.

the distance of 550 feet from the S. W. angle, in the part that is called the *Towers of Gaza*.

After this account of the Gates, we shall be better able to understand the scattered notices of the walls that appear at intervals in the history of the City. Reserving, then, the examination of the ancient walls, I would here remark, that the very fact of their restoration by Hadrian is a matter of great uncertainty⁷. We know only that subsequently to his time Mount Sion was in whole or in part excluded from the city, and "ploughed as a field⁸," nor has any subsequent disposition of the wall interfered with this arrangement, although so late as the 15th century the foundations of the ancient wall of Sion were still distinctly to be traced along its southern brow, in the garden of the Franciscan Convent, (now the Mosk *Nebi Daūd*,) of which more will be said below⁹.

Among other munificent works of the Dowager Empress Eudocia, it is mentioned that she rebuilt the city-walls, and inclosed within them the fountain of Siloam¹⁰. Besides these, I am not aware of any distinct notices of the walls prior to the Crusades, though it is certain that the City must have been well fortified to hold out so long against its first Saracenic assailants. The particular description of the disposition of the

⁷ Orosius is the only authority, but, as he had visited Jerusalem, his testimony must prove that the walls were restored at that time (A. D. 416). They were certainly still in ruins, at least about the Temple, in the time of Eusebius. But see H. C. Vol. II. p. 414, n. 1, and compare Vol. I. p. 243, n. 3. The restoration must have been very partial.

⁸ Micah iii. 12. See the citation from Eusebius and S. Cyril in Bib. Res. I. p. 463, n. 1.

⁹ Felix Fabri, Vol. I. p. 276.

¹⁰ Cyril of Scythopolis is silent: Evagrius mentions it, H. E. I. xxii. and Antoninus Placentinus says that she included the fountain of Siloam. Ugolini Thes. Tom. VII. p. mcccxvii.

Christian army clearly implies that, when assailed by it, they followed nearly the same line as at present¹. The fortifications of the City had been thoroughly repaired during the advance of the Crusaders², so that we read of a deep and wide fosse before the outworks which covered the interior wall³. The wall was carried by the Crusaders at two points nearly simultaneously, viz. by Godfrey and his brother on the North, somewhere between the *Gate of Herod* and the N. E. angle, and by Count Raymond of Thoulouse on the *Mount Sion*, probably a little to the West of the *Sion Gate*⁴.

During the Frank occupation, in the reign of King Baldwin IV., the city-wall had in part fallen to ruin from its extreme age, and a subscription was raised among the princes, secular and ecclesiastical, to be paid annually until the restoration was completed⁵. This work, commenced in A. D. 1177, could scarcely have been accomplished when the City was besieged by Saladin, A. D. 1187. The point of attack selected by him was the N. E. angle⁶, near which the Crusaders had first effected their entrance, and where the wall was weakest. A breach was formed by undermining the angular tower, and the garrison capitulated.

A few years later (A. D. 1192) the approach of Richard

¹ H. C. Vol. I. p. 368, &c. Will. Tyr. VIII. v. p. 750. in Bongar.

² Will. Tyr. VII. xxiii. 743.

³ "Effractis antemuralibus, infra muros interiores, &c." Ib. VIII. vi. p. 750. "Vallum ingens et profundum quod antemurali erat suppositum," xiii. p. 756. Conf. xv. p. 757.

⁴ Ibid. xii. p. 755, xvii. xix. pp.

758, 9.

⁵ Ibid. Lib. XXI. sect. xxv. p. 1012.

⁶ H. C. Vol. I. p. 416. See references there in the notes. The passage in Bohadin (p. 73) furnishes another proof in addition to those cited in H. C. Vol. II. p. 421, note 7, that the Moslems name the Valley of Jehoshaphat "Gehinnom."

Cœur de Lion and his allies obliged Saladin to add to the defences of the City, and the northern wall, between the *Damascus* and *Jaffa Gates*⁷, was considerably strengthened by a second wall flanked with bastions and furnished with towers, the massive remains of which, still to be seen outside the N. W. corner of the modern City, on both the western and northern sides, have been taken for indications of a deviation in the line of the modern walls in that quarter⁸.

The fortifications of the City were dismantled by Moaddam-Isa for fear of the Christians (A. D. 1219), and their restoration by the Franks, contrary to treaty (A. D. 1229), led to their more complete overthrow by the Amir Daūd of Kerak, when the Tower of David, which had before escaped, was levelled with the ground. In 1243 the City was ceded to the Christians for the last time, but its fortifications were apparently allowed to remain in ruins; for in the following year, on the irruption of the Kharesmians, its defence was declared hopeless, and the City was evacuated by the insufficient garrison⁹. The walls appear to have remained in a very dilapidated state until they were rebuilt by Suliman I. (A. D. 1544 $\frac{2}{3}$). The fullest account that we have of them in that interval is from Felix Fabri¹⁰, who speaks of their massive stones as tossed about in wild confusion on the South side of the Haram. In making his circuit of the City from the Jaffa Gate, he describes a deep and wide fosse, the city-wall built upon rocks, with houses inserted in it, and large caverns hollowed in the rocks

⁷ Mejir-ed-din, *Mines d'Orient*,
Tom. iv. p. 220.

⁸ Bib. Res. p. 384.

⁹ See the references in H. C. Vol. i.

from p. 421—427.

¹⁰ *Evagatorium*, T. S. Tom. i. p.
266; II. pp. 118, 19. 125, 6.

by which one might enter into the very middle of the city. He further speaks of a swell of ground at the N. W. angle, formed by ruined walls, occupying the site, he says, of the Psephine Tower, alluding, no doubt, to the *Castle of Goliath*. On the northern face he remarked a double wall, formed in many places of scarpèd rock, and observes that greater pains had been taken with the fortification in this part on account of the natural weakness: unconsciously confirming the testimony of Bohadin, already adduced. Felix, however, supposes that it was here that Saladin effected his entrance.

V. ENVIRONS OF THE CITY.

i. *East of the City.*

THE VALLEY OF JEHOSEPHAT, the "Wady Gehinnom" of the Arabs¹, skirts the City on the East side, leaving only a narrow strip of level ground outside the wall. Its depth varies from about 100 to 150 feet. In the bottom of the Valley is the *Tomb of the Virgin*², and South of this the two monolithic monuments of *Absalom* and *Zechariah*, and the two excavations of *Jehosephat* and *S. James*. The first of these has been fully described by Professor Willis, on the authority of Mr. Scoles³.

The entrance to the so-called *Tomb of Jehosephat* is in the north-east angle of the passage that surrounds the *Tomb of Absalom*: but the accumulation of soil that conceals the lower portions of the latter has left

¹ H. C. Vol. II. p. 421, and n. 7.

² Ibid. p. 436.

³ Ibid. pp. 157—160, with plates.

In the following detailed description of the others I also avail myself of the

very beautiful and accurate Plans of Mr. Scoles, made with extreme precision and care in the year 1825, kindly placed at our disposal by that gentleman.

only the pediment of the former visible above ground. It is triangular in form, the tympanum being covered with foliation executed in the rock, but much defaced by time and violence.

The Cave of S. James is situated at the distance of 145 feet from the *Tomb of Absalom*, and consists of a series of sepulchral chambers, excavated in the face of the same rocky base of the *Mount of Olives*. It presents to the *Valley of Jehoshaphat* the front of a Doric temple *in antis*, of simple design, but purer in style than either of the other monuments. The *antæ* and columns have no base mouldings; the capitals of the former consist of a cavetto resting on an ovolo, but those of the latter are entirely without mouldings. They are connected by a regular architrave, surmounted by a frieze, with triglyphs and guttæ, and a cornice, consisting of the usual members; all executed in the solid rock. The dimensions of the portico are 18 feet by 10 feet, and its walls are pierced on all sides.

A low door in its East wall gives entrance to a series of sepulchral excavations, precisely similar in character to those already described⁴, consisting of an ante-chamber, nearly 15 feet square, giving access to three other chambers on its three sides. The loculi are all what we have called deep, or *perpendicular*, (pierced lengthwise in the rock,) as in the *Tombs of the Kings* and the *Prophets*; not horizontal, (running along the side of the chamber with *arcosolia*⁵, or arched recesses,) as many of those in the *Tombs of the Judges*. Of these loculi the northern chamber (about 13 feet square)

⁴ The *Tombs of the Judges* in | *Tombs of the Kings* in p. 518.
H. C. Vol. II. pp. 152—156. The | ⁵ H. C. Vol. II. pp. 147, 153.

contains three, the southern chamber (15 feet by 12) four, and the eastern (12 feet 6 inches by 21 feet) four.

A flight of steps, cut in the rock, leads up from the North side of the Portico to the top of the cliff; and a passage in the South wall leads down to the *Tomb of Zachariah*, at a distance of 45 feet. This tomb stands isolated from the rock, as does the *Tomb of Absalom*, with a passage round it, 10 feet in width. It is, however, a complete monolith, not surmounted with masonry, as is the other; for the pyramid which forms the upper story of this monument is likewise executed in the solid rock. Its architectural features are Ionic, though not in the purest style. All its four fronts are uniform, and the monument is exactly square, each front being 18 feet $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches in width; but the face towards the city is better finished than the others. The general design is very similar to that of the Tomb of Absalom—pilasters with antæ-capitals at each angle, having quarter columns attached, and two half-columns between, with Ionic capitals; its base being deeply buried in soil, like that of its neighbour. The Tomb of Zachariah, however, has no frieze, but simply an Egyptian cornice or entablature, (5 feet 6 inches deep), composed of a lower fascia, torus, and cavetto, from which rises the pyramid to an additional height of 15 feet. Mr Scoles thinks it probable that this monument stood on a basement, in which was the entrance to the tomb. There is now no known entrance; but the sepulchral arrangements are probably the same as those in the Tomb of Absalom, and in the Holy Sepulchre. This monument has been stuccoed, and painted a deep red colour; in some parts the stucco and colouring are yet to be seen.

It has been said that the origin and history of these monuments are involved in great obscurity¹: scarcely two writers of ancient times agree in ascribing them to the same individuals. The earliest extant writer who mentions them is the Bourdeaux Pilgrim, in the time of Constantine (A. D. 333), who assigns the monoliths to Isaiah and Hezekiah². Arculfus (A. D. 697) speaks of but one monolith, probably the Tomb of Absalom, as the Tomb of Jehoshaphat, near which were two excavated Sepulchres of Simeon the Just, and Joseph the husband of Mary³. The name given by Arculfus to the Tomb of Absalom seems to have passed current among Christians for many ages⁴, though the Jews of the 12th Century certainly regarded it as Absalom's Place⁵; and this tradition, which is now established, is found at intervals in Christian writers⁶. In Mejr-ed-din it is called the Mound of Pharaoh⁷; and it is remarkable, that with its decidedly Egyptian features an Egyptian name should still be found to cleave to it⁸. I have elsewhere suggested whether the original monuments

¹ H. C. Vol. II. p. 449.

² Itin. Hierosol. Wesseling, p. 595.

³ Adamnanus, Lib. I. chap. xiv.

⁴ Marinus Sanuto, A. D. 1321, (Lib. III. pars xiv. cap. ix. in Bongar, Vol. II. p. 255) is, I think, certainly describing the Tomb of Absalom under the name of Jehoshaphat.

⁵ Benjamin of Tudela, A. D. 1170. Vol. I. pp. 36, 7. Asher's Edition, The other Monolith he gives to King Uziah.

⁶ Sir J. Maundeville (p. 112) is the earliest (A. D. 1322-56), then Rudolph von Suchem and Breydenbach. Georgius Gemnicensis identifies the Tomb of Jehoshaphat with the Pillar

of Absalom, but rejects the latter tradition. Ephemerid. T. S. Lib. II. sect. 8. The others he calls by the now-received names.

⁷ Mines d'Orient, Tome II. p. 133. He says, however, that it was built by the Greeks.

⁸ Dr. Robinson having noticed the mixture of the Classical and Egyptian Architecture, common to these monuments and those at Petra, as an indication of their late origin, ingeniously suggests the Idumæan descent of Herod, and the connexion of Herod the Tetrarch with Aretas, as an explanation of these common features. Bib. Res. I. p. 521.

may not belong to a much earlier date than the ornamentation¹; for ancient artists were as well skilled as modern in adapting architectural details to the altered taste of a later period.

The tradition concerning S. James is first found in S. Gregory of Tours, and is as follows²: It is said, that when the Apostle James had seen our Lord dead on the Cross, weary of his life, he swore that he would no more eat bread until he should see his Lord risen. On the third day our Lord, returning from his triumph over hell, shewed himself to James, saying, "Arise, James, and eat; for I have now risen from the dead." When the tradition became fixed to this Cave is very uncertain; I do not find it before the 14th Century³. It is possible that the Martyrdom of S. James may have taken place near this spot. He was cast down probably from the lofty tower, of which traces may still be seen at the S. E. angle of the Haram, on the precipitous brow opposite to these Sepulchres, in one of which he may have been interred⁴.

The *Tomb of Zachariah* I have elsewhere attempted to connect with that son of Barachiah, who was slain by the Jewish zealots, according to our Lord's prophecy, shortly before the destruction of the Temple⁵. Josephus says that his body was thrown down into the valley. It was perhaps deposited near that of S. James the Just: but this is mere conjecture. The Jews, however, regard

¹ H. C. Vol. II. p. 451.

² *Historia Francorum*, Lib. I. cap. xxi. ap. Bouquet, Tom. II. p. 145. The tradition preserved by him concerning the sepulture of S. James connects his Tomb with those of Zacharias and Simeon. See H. C. Vol.

II. p. 449, n. 1.

³ Sir J. Maundeville, A.D. 1322-56, mentions the Chirche where S. James and Zacharie were buried, south of the Tomb of Jehoshaphat, p. 116.

⁴ See Stanley's Sermons, pp. 333, 4.

⁵ H. C. Vol. I. p. 173, n. 2.

this monument with peculiar veneration, and think that prayers offered up before it are specially efficacious. A notable instance of this belief is recorded in history. During a long drought in Jerusalem a renegade Jew persuaded the Governor that the Jews had power to procure rain, and that, consequently, it was through them that the City was tortured with thirst. He referred to 1 Kings viii. 35, 6, in proof that the Jews could open heaven at their will. On this the Governor summoned the Rabbies of the various congregations, and threatened that unless they obtained rain within three days, all the Jews in Jerusalem should be put to death. When deprecations proved vain, the Jews entreated that the (Dung) Gate, contiguous to their quarter, which was commonly stopped up, might be opened, in order to allow them free access to the Tomb of Zachariah, where their prayers were sure to find a readier answer. Their request was granted; the whole Jewish population poured out of the City to prostrate themselves before this Sepulchre, and the rain came the first day!

At the Pillar of Absalom a bridge spans the dry bed of the Kidron: crossing this, and proceeding about 1600 feet down the valley, we come to—

53. *The Fountain of the Virgin*, which has been fully described⁶ as rising in a small cavity, (25 feet below the level of the valley,) to which is a descent by twenty-six steps cut in the rock. The bitter, sweet, brackish, tasteless water flows off through a serpentine channel cut through the spur of the Temple Mount to—

54. *The Pool of Siloam*, the character of which has been described, and its history investigated⁷. It

⁶ H. C. Vol. II. p. 454, 5.

⁷ Ibid. Vol. II. pp. 456, 7, 476—478.

is situated at the mouth of the Tyropœon, where that valley meets those of Jehoshaphat and Hinnom. The water is dammed up in the small basin for the purpose of irrigating the gardens that lie in the bed of the Valley of Jehoshaphat, just beneath the *Village of Siloam*. These gardens occupy the site of the *King's Gardens*, from whence perhaps the valley received the name of the King's Dale.

57. *The original Pool*; now filled with soil, and cultivated as a garden.

Bîr Ayûb. The Well of Job (Joab)¹, called also the Well of Nehemiah, and *Enrogel*, is at the entrance of the *Wady en-Nâr* ("the Fire Valley"), which is formed from the confluence of the three valleys above named. The well is mentioned as a point in the borders of Benjamin and Judah², and enables us to determine their limits with such accuracy, that I much wonder how it could ever have been supposed that any part of Jerusalem lay within the Tribe of Judah. It is clear that a line drawn from this well up the Valley of the Sons of Hinnom must have left the whole City on the North side, which belonged to Benjamin. The only other possible hypothesis is that *Enrogel* is not identical with the present Well of Nehemiah; but if not, where is it to be found?

Besides the notices already given of this Well, I may here insert another which was only referred to before. It relates to the recovery of this Well in the later years of the Frank kingdom, after it had been stopped by the Saracens, as had all others about the City, previous to its investment by the first Crusaders. It is remarkable

¹ Described, &c. in H. C. Vol. 11. pp. 489—495.

² Joshua xv. 7, 8, and xviii. 16, 17.

as an instance of the accurate fidelity of the native traditions, which had preserved the memory of this Well for so many years³.

In the first year of King Baldwin IV. (A. D. 1182) no rain fell in Jerusalem; so that the cisterns were not replenished, and a terrible drought ensued. There was then a charitable burgess named Germanus, who possessed three reservoirs of water, to which all the citizens might resort. But when he saw that the supply failed, by reason of the drought, he was filled with sorrow on account of the poor whom he had sustained. He then remembered how he had heard say by ancient men of the land, that there was hard by the Fountain of Siloam an ancient Well which Jacob (*sic*) made there, but it had been closed and filled, and would with difficulty be recovered. So he made his prayer to our Lord that he would grant him to find this well, and to continue the benefit which he had commenced doing to His poor people in succouring them with water. Then he went to the place with workmen, and dug at the spot indicated. When the well was found, he caused it to be emptied and fresh built, all at his own cost. He further erected a draw-wheel over the well, which was turned by a horse, and stone troughs were provided for the accommodation of the citizens who resorted thither. The worthy burgess employed his own beasts to draw water night and day, and two of his

³ The following interesting narrative is taken from the Continuator of William of Tyre, Lib. xxii. In Martene and Durand's Vet. Script. &c., Collect. Tom. v. coll. 586, 7. He says that the water of Siloam was

not good to drink, but was salt; that it was used for tanning hides, for washing linen, and for watering the horses and the gardens in the valley below.

horses with three servitors were constantly occupied in conveying water to his reservoirs in the city for the supply of the poor. This well was more than 50 toises deep, and was again filled by the Christians when they had intelligence that the Saracens were advancing to besiege the City. It was probably soon recovered, and we have distinct mention of it a century later¹.

The Well of Job lies between the *Mount of Offence* and the *Hill of Evil Council*; the former named from the abominations of Solomon's idolatry, supposed to have been erected on that hill²; the latter from the bargain of the traitor Judas, which is said to have been concluded in the country-house of Caiaphas (or Annas), the ruins of which are shewn on its summit³.

ii. *South of the City.*

The *Hill of Evil Council* is separated from *Mount Sion* by the deep *Valley of Hinnom*, now called *Wady er-Rubâb*, the bed of which is planted with olive-trees. The precipitous rocks, arranged in natural terraces, at the base of the Hill of Evil Council, are perforated and honey-combed in all directions for the purpose of forming sepulchral excavations, converted by the piety or superstition of a later period into cells for recluses during some centuries⁴, and afterwards restored to their original and more appropriate use. Some of them demand a specific

¹ Viz., by Brocardus, A.D. 1283, who identifies it with Enrogel, cap. VIII., as does also Marinus Sanuto, III. xiv. 9.

² First distinctly stated by Brocardus (A.D. 1283). See Bib. Res. I. p. 565.

³ Dr. Robinson finds this tradition

first in Felix Fabri, A.D. 1483. Bib. Res. I. p. 408. Felix makes this hill Gihon.

⁴ So Antoninus Placentinus, (A.D. 600). Ugolini. Thes. Tom. VII. p. mcccxvii. Compare Edrisi, Tome I. p. 345. ed. Jaubert. Maundeville, p. 93. Felix Fabri, Vol. I. p. 422.

notice. Near the entrance to the valley is "the whited sepulchre," with its Doric pediment, in which Mr. Wilde made his marvellous discovery of the skulls of three distinct races of mankind⁵. Not far from this is the Retreat of the Apostles⁶, with a rock-hewn Doric portal, whose roof and pillars were once adorned with Greek paintings of Saints, now almost defaced⁷. In this, and other tombs in its vicinity, Greek inscriptions have been discovered; several of which have been copied with great care by the learned Scholz, and the ignorant Krafft⁸. Over the entrance of the Retreat are the words

+ ΘΗC ΑΓΙΑC CΙΩΝ,

which gave occasion to Dr. Clarke's preposterous hypothesis, that the *Hill of Evil Council* is the true Sion⁹! They occur two or three times, and are no doubt correctly explained by Dr. Schultz to signify that these tombs belonged to the Church (ΑΓΙΑ) of Sion, the present Mosk "Nebi Daûd¹⁰." In contradistinction to these *quasi* public graves we have other sepulchres, marked as private, with the name of the owners, or the persons therein deposited.

I will exhibit these inscriptions, both according to the decipherment of Professor Scholz, and with the very questionable corrections of Krafft¹¹.

⁵ Narrative, Vol. II. pp. 341—357. His theory is, of course, worthless. Krafft, p. 196, notices this tomb.

⁶ "Latibula Apostolorum." Felix Fabri, l. c., and Quaresmius, Tom. II. p. 283, give the reason of the name.

⁷ Bib. Res. I. p. 526. Krafft, *ibid*.

⁸ J. M. A. Scholz, Reise, &c. pp. 180, 81, A.D. 1822. Krafft, Topographie, &c. pp. 190—198, and Table

of Inscriptions, Nos. 1—5.

⁹ Clarke's Travels, Part II. Vol. IV. pp. 331—2, 8vo. Ed.

¹⁰ Jerusalem, p. 39.

¹¹ Krafft, p. 193, and No. 1 of the Inscriptions. This is on a tomb which lies near the path that crosses the valley of Hinnom, and leads from Sion to the Hill of Evil Council.

SCHOLZ.

ΜΝΗΜΑΔΙΑΦΕ
ΡΟΝΘΕΚΑΛΙΨΡΕ
ΑΦΟΥΓΕΡΜΑΜΙΚΗ
+ S C

KRAFFT.

⚡ ΜΝΗΜΑΔΙΑΦΕ
ΡΟΝΘΕΚΑΑΝΔΡΟΝ
ΑΦΟΥΓΕΡΜΑΝΙΚΗ
C

To Herrn Krafft, however, is due the whole merit of the interpretation, which Professor Scholz would probably not be ambitious to share with him.—“This is the grave of ten different men from Germany.” An interesting record, which, he tells us, afforded him and his companion food for pensive reflection. But how this sense is to be derived from the words he does not shew; and all that I can venture to assert positively is, that either his decipherment, or his translation, or, more probably, both, are grossly erroneous.

The same may be said of the inscription on the Tomb with a Doric pediment before noticed, which Krafft represents as follows¹:

ΘΗΚΗΔΙ	⚡	ΗΓΓΜΣ
ΑΦΕΙΣ		ΜΟΝΑΚΤΗΡΣ
ΘΕΚΑΑΣ		ΤΒΕΝΑΣ
ΓΕΡΑ/		ΤΓΕΟΡ
		ΓΙΣ +

This the bold critic explains to mean,

*Θηκη διαφερων θεκα ανδρων ηγουμενων Μοναστηριου
του Βενας του Γεοργιου:*

which he translates,—“Grave of ten different men, Superiors of the Monastery of Benas, of George.”—Ten men again, apparently the normal number of the occupants of these Tombs; and he tells us that there

¹ Pp. 196, 7, and No. 2 of the Inscriptions. Here, unhappily, Professor Scholz is too obscure to be of any value. p. 180.

were two Greek Monasteries of S. George in Jerusalem, but can give no account of that of S. Benas. It were strange, indeed, if he could, since no such Saint is to be found in any Calendar.

The third is equally infelicitous².

+ ΜΝΗΜΑΔΙΑΦΕΡΟΤΗΝ
ΑΦΟΥΡΟΜΙΙΣΑΓΙΑΚΚΙΩΝ.

i. e., he says,—“Tomb of different men, from Rome, belonging to the Holy Sion.”

I hope that some future traveller may be more successful in deciphering, and more happy in translating these inscriptions. It was worth while to give the above attempts as a warning to others, and as a specimen of the critical acumen of the somewhat supercilious “Licentiate of Theology, and private-tutor in the Rhenish University of Bonn.”

Another, which appears to have escaped the observation of Krafft, is thus given by Professor Scholz :—

ΜΝΗΜΑΔΙΑΦΕΡΟΝΤΑΤΟΝΕΝΓΗ
ΝΟΟΝΟΜΙΟΥΤΟΥΠΑΤΡΟΣ
ΑΓΟΟΟΥ. . .

It is curious that these same excavations furnish an amusing example of the ignorance in a former Cambridge Professor, whose travels have obtained a very undue celebrity³. Dr. Clarke copied with considerable care an inscription, the words of which, he says, “are supposed to be *Arabic*, expressed in *Hebrew* and *Phœnician* characters. The *arrow-headed* character occurs here, as in the inscriptions at Telmessæ.”

² P. 198, and No. 3. This is near the bottom of the cliff.

³ Clarke's Travels, Part II. Vol. IV. p. 330. 8vo. Ed. 1817.

This tomb lies a little to the West of the path that crosses the Valley of Hinnom from the South of Mount Sion, and is near a small grave-yard of the Jewish literalists (Karites)¹, to which community the inscription, which is entirely Hebrew, and in Hebrew characters, may confidently be ascribed. It has been copied by modern travellers², but is too much mutilated to give any connected sense, and is certainly inaccurately represented by Dr. Scholz, though he deserves great credit for having recovered so much. A comparison of the last eight lines of the inscription, as given by him, with that of Dr. Clarke will shew how difficult was his task, and will explain though not excuse the error of his predecessor, whose ignorance of the Hebrew character led him to insert natural marks in the rock as letters, and to omit parts of letters as natural lines.

Among the sepulchral excavations that lie around the Retreat of the Apostles is that which particularly attracted Dr. Clarke's attention, "from its extraordinary coincidence with all the circumstances connected with the history of our Saviour's Tomb³," being a double cave with one *loculus* in the inner chamber. He was not aware that this identical grave had been described upwards of three hundred years before as the counterpart of the Holy Sepulchre⁴, and that Father

¹ Its position is given by Dr. Robinson, *Bib. Res.* i. p. 523, and Krafft, p. 190.

² Clarke, l. c. gives fragments of eight lines, in his own way; Dr. Robinson deciphered only a few words; the fullest is that given by Krafft, p. 191, who acknowledges in a note his obligations to Professor Scholz.

³ Travels, Part II. Vol. 1v. p. 327.

In p. 328 he suggests the probability that this was "The identical Tomb!"

⁴ So Felix Fabri, in A.D. 1480.

"In eodem horto ingressi sumus quandam singularem speluncam, dominico Sepulchro simillimam, prout erat in suo primo statu." Tom. i. p. 423. This was upwards of seventy years before Boniface's repairs, which see *loc. inf. cit.*

Boniface, the Superior of the Franciscan Convent, who uncovered and recased that Sacred Tomb, had declared that this was in all respects similar to it, and had pointed it out to the brethren, that they might have it in their power to exhibit to the pilgrims an actual pattern of the Holy Sepulchre, existing in its natural state⁵. It is a curious coincidence that the sceptical traveller should have selected this very Tomb as "the True Holy Sepulchre."

On a higher ledge of rock, above the Retreat of the Apostles, lies the most interesting of the excavations in this Necropolis, situated in the parcel of ground known as *Aceldama*, "the Field of Blood." It was first thoroughly explored by Dr. Schultz, whose description I adopt⁶. He descended into it by help of a ladder, and found it to be an old rock-grave with a double sepulchral cave, in both of which many niches still remain,—the loculi for corpses. The rock is very soft lime-stone, and in order to prevent it from falling, the front wall of the cave is supported by two pillars of bevelled stones neatly executed. They seem formerly to have borne a vaulted ante-chamber, corresponding to that which now exists, but is of comparatively recent date and very roughly constructed. There are traces also of steps hewn in the rock, which formerly led down to the grave. He thinks that the masonry of these pillars must be referred to a time preceding the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus, and that this charnel-house must have formed the grave of some distinguished personage of that time. He imagines, in fact, that this is no other than the Sepulchre of Ananus (or Annas, father-in-law of Caiaphas), mentioned by Josephus in this part, in his

⁵ See H. C. Vol. II. pp. 192, 4. The repairs were commenced in A. D. 1556.

⁶ Jerusalem, p. 39.

account of the Wall of Circumvallation¹. With reference to the Christian tradition that marks it as the Potter's Field, he says, "A stratum of white clay, which is still worked, corroborates the identity of the locality, for which one might otherwise look near the ruins of *Abu Wa'ir*, where is to be seen a bed of reddish clay²."

It is a curious coincidence that this Potter's Field has been used until very recent times for the purpose for which it was purchased by the High Priests, having been the ordinary place of burial for such strangers as died at Jerusalem during their pilgrimage. For when, during the Frank occupation of the City, the Church on that site was conveyed to the Hospital of S. John³, by grant of the Latin Patriarch William (A. D. 1143), it is already described as the place "where the bodies of pilgrims are buried." It had heretofore belonged to the "ancient Syrians," i. e. the natives of the Greek rite. It was next used for the burial of such pilgrims as died in the Hospital⁴. This continued until the 14th century⁵. In the middle of that century the Franciscans purchased at a high price from the Sultan permission to erect a Convent on this site, which they were soon obliged to abandon on account of the incessant attacks of the Arabs, who then destroyed the Church and all other buildings, excepting the charnel-house. After

¹ P. 72. I am quite satisfied with this identification, of which more will be said below.

² Jerusalem, p. 39.

³ Dr. Schultz, p. 119, cites the Deed of grant from Seb. Pauli's *Codice Diplomatico*, &c., p. 23. No. xxii.

⁴ Jacobus, de Vit. Hist. Hierosol. Sect. lxiv. p. 1082. The Norman Chron. Sect. vi. corrupts *Aceldama*

into *Chaudemar*. In illustration Dr. Schultz (p. 119) aptly introduces William of Tyre's remark on *Banias*. "Dicitur et *Paneas*: sed nostri Latini corrumpentes nomen, sicut pœne omnium aliarum urbium, *Belinas* vocant." Will. Tyr. xix. 11.

⁵ Sir J. Maundeville, p. 112, ed. 1727, cited also by Dr. Robinson, *Bib. Res.* i. p. 525.

this the site was occupied by Greek Monks for a short time, until they were driven out in a similar manner⁶. Subsequently it passed to the Armenians, and served as the depository of their pilgrims for some centuries⁷.

Leaving these *Sepulchral Excavations*, and proceeding northward up the *Valley of Hinnom*, we reach the *Sultan's Pool*⁸, unquestionably an ancient work, and long prior to the Sultans. It is sometimes spoken of by later pilgrims as Bathsheba's Bath⁹, but was known as the Lake of Germain in the time of the Frank Kingdom¹⁰. Its length along the middle is 592 feet, its breadth at the North end 245 feet, at the South 275; its depth at the North 35 feet, and at the South 42¹¹.

A little above the *Sultan's Pool*, the *Aqueduct of Pontius Pilate* crosses the Valley of Hinnom by a stone bridge of nine low arches, constructed to convey water from the Pools of Solomon to the Temple Mount¹². It skirts great part of the West, the whole of the South and East sides of Mount Sion, and is conducted to the Haram by the Causeway that joins the N. E. corner of that hill¹³. It passes at the S. W. corner of Mount Sion the *Hammâm Tabariyeh* (the Baths of Tiberias), where

⁶ Felix Fabri, i. pp. 424, 5, mentions these facts, and cites Ludolph of Suchem (A. D. 1350) in confirmation. He further describes the charnel-house, as it then existed, with nine orifices for the corpses, overgrown in great part with long grass, so that the unwary might easily slip through into the loathsome pit.

⁷ Quaresmius, E. T. S. II. p. 285. See other citations in Bib. Res. i. p. 525.

⁸ H. C. Vol. II. pp. 496, 7.

⁹ Quaresmius, E. T. S. II. p. 596. See further, Bib. Res. i. 485-7.

¹⁰ So the Norman writer, Sect. vi. He assigns as a reason for the name, that Germain (doubtless the worthy burgess in p. 55) caused it to be made as a reservoir for the rain-water that descended from the mountains. This must be a mistake, for William of Tyre, an earlier writer, says that it was celebrated in the times of the Kings of Judah, VIII. ii. p. 747; he does not assign it any name.

¹¹ So Dr. Robinson, l. c. p. 486.

¹² Holy City, Vol. II. pp. 497-502.

¹³ Ibid. pp. 43, 44.

ruins of baths may still be seen. They doubtless derived their supply of water from this aqueduct. On the East of Sion it passes close to the *Cave of S. Peter*, where, according to the tradition, he wept bitterly after his thrice-repeated denial. A Church formerly stood over this Cave, and the suggestion of Felix Fabri is probably true, that a deep cistern, still to be seen there, was a Crypt of the Church supplied from the aqueduct¹.

The pile of buildings now called *En-Nebi Daûd* (the Prophet David), was formerly the Franciscan Convent, erected for that community in the 14th century (A. D. 1313), by Sancia, Queen of Robert of Sicily, and occupied by them until the 16th century (A. D. 1561), when they were expelled by the Moslems². It contains the Cœnaculum, sometimes called the Church of Sion, the Church of the Apostles, the Upper Church,—perhaps the most ancient sacred edifice in Jerusalem³. The subterranean Tomb of David is also entered from this building. In connexion with this it may be well to mention a curious discovery lately made in this neighbourhood. The Jews' Society recently purchased a plot of ground for a burying-place on Mount Sion, not far from Nebi Daûd, to the South-west, I believe. In digging on this ground a staircase cut in the native rock was discovered. It was excavated to the depth of forty

¹ Evagator. Vol. i. p. 261. The Church was called Gallicantum, but was already, in his day, "totaliter eruta, adeo quod ejus non apparent vestigia." It is mentioned in the Norman Chron. as standing, "moustier de S. Pierre en Galliceinte." Sect. v.

² See more fully Bib. Res. i. p. 358; and Quaresmius, Elucid. T. S.

Tom. i. p. 176, and II. pp. 51, 122.

³ Mentioned by Epiphanius at the close of the 4th Century as having escaped the destruction under Titus; mentioned also by S. Cyril, Prudentius, S. Jerome, Theodoret (in Ezechielem, apud fin. Op. Tom. II. p. 1050. Ed. Halæ, 1769, 8vo), and others. See H. C. Vol. II. p. 508, and notes.

steps, when the works were suspended. Is it possible that this can be any way connected with the sepulchral caverns of David and the Kings of Judah?

iii. *West of the City.*

On the opposite side of the Valley of Hinnom we may observe *Kasr el-Ghazul* (the Gazelle's Castle), and *Abu Wa'ir*, both marked by ruins of former habitations, and the latter by a small cell dedicated to S. George⁴. Passing through the Christian graveyards towards the Citadel, and then turning West, at the distance of about 700 yards from the Jaffa Gate we arrive at *the Pool of Mamillah*, which is formed in the natural basin at the head of the Valley of Hinnom, on the West of the City. It is not a reservoir, but a mere receptacle of the rain-water from the sloping ground around it, which immediately runs off by a rude aqueduct into *the Pool of the Bath* within the City⁵. It was called by the Crusaders the Patriarch's Lake⁶, and has of late years been erroneously identified with "the Upper Pool," mentioned by the Prophet Isaiah, while, of course, the *Sultan's Pool* was made to do service for "the Lower Pool." Both these names are quite recent, as is also that of Gihon as assigned to the upper part of the Valley of Hinnom⁷.

The dimensions of the tank as measured by Dr. Robinson are as follows: Length, 316 feet; width at the West end, 200 feet; at the East end, 218 feet; depth,

⁴ H. C. Vol. II. p. 515.

⁵ See further, H. C. Vol. II. pp. 488, 9.

⁶ So Will. Tyr. VIII. ii. p. 747, and Norman Chronicle, Sect. vi.

⁷ Dr. Robinson, who accepts this identification, (Bib. Res. I. pp. 352, 402, 3, 483—485,) cites Quaresmius, II. 715, as representing the monkish tradition; and Pococke, pp. 25, 26.

18 feet. Its modern native name is derived from a Church, formerly situated in this vicinity, dedicated to S. Mamilla or Babila¹. It was built over the extensive catacombs called *The Charnel-house of the Lion*, from the tradition of the Lion that assisted to bury in this Cavern the corpses of the Christians slain by the Persians and Jews in the invasion of Chosroes II.; and in the times of the Frank kingdom prayers were daily chanted over their relics². The road to the Convent of the Cross passes near this Cavern³.

The Mohammedan burial-ground, *Turbet Mamillah*⁴, is the most extensive about the City, but not so highly esteemed as that under the East wall of the Haram. Apropos of this graveyard, I may remark that the City is completely hemmed in by graves. Commencing with the S. Mary's Gate, we have the Moslem burial-ground extending all along the East wall of the Haram to the S. E. angle: below is the large graveyard of the Jews on the base of Mount Olivet; then the Necropolis of the Valleys of Jehoshaphat and Hinnom, the former including the village of Siloam, which is entirely formed of sepulchral excavations; then the Christian cemeteries on Mount Sion: the *Turbet Mamillah* continues the line, which, after a short break, is again resumed by the *Tur-*

¹ For S. Babila see Dr. Schultz's Jerusalem, p. 120. Mejir-ed-din says that the Christians call this place Babila, (p. 134). He gives some fanciful derivations of the Moslem name.

² See H. C. Vol. I. pp. 302, 3. Bernhardi Mon. Itinerarium, (A. D. 870,) p. 792. Eutychiei Annales, (A. D. 940) Tom. II. p. 213. Eugesippus, (A. D. 1120) ap. Leonis Allatii Opuscula, p. 118. Will. Tyr. VIII. ii. p.

747. Norman Chron. Sect. vi. This last writer, in common with Bernhard, falls into the natural error of substituting the Saracens for the Persians.

³ In Frank times it was an abbey of Nuns. Norman Chron. vi. See the account in H. C. Vol. II. p. 553.

⁴ For this and the other burial-places of the Moslems, see Mejir-ed-din, p. 134.

bet ez-Zahara, and completed by a line of graves under the East wall of the City quite to the S. Mary's Gate.

iv. *North of the City.*

THE *Turbet ez-Zahara* is over the *Cave of Jeremiah*, where, according to a late tradition, that Prophet wrote his Lamentations, and the savage wildness of that uncouth cave may well seem to have caught the gloomy colour of the desolate heart that pours forth its plaintive melody in the dirge of the old Jerusalem. The date of the formation of this grotto is very uncertain. It was apparently a quarry from which stones have been taken for the construction of the city-walls, and at no remote period⁵; for the historians of the Crusades make no mention of this cave, which they would scarcely have passed over in silence. The great stable of the Hospital must have stood in this immediate vicinity, according to the description of the Norman writer⁶. It survived the siege of Saladin, and furnished extensive accommodation to the pilgrims that resorted to Jerusalem during the truce. Several Mohammedan saints lie buried before the mouth of the cave, which is now under charge of a Derwish, and serves for the Lazarette of the Quarantine establishment. The City-wall opposite to this cave is formed by a precipice of rock

⁵ See H. C. Vol. II. p. 428, and notes, and p. 516.

⁶ Sect v. As you approach the S. Stephen's gate from the Nablouse road, S. Stephen's Church is on the right, the "*Assery*" of the Hospital before it on the left. The deed of grant to the Hospital, made in A. D. 1163 by Eustachius and Agnes his wife, describes

the land of the Hospital as adjacent to the two roads that led from the gate of S. Stephen, one to the North, the other to the Valley of Jehoshaphat, i. e. to the East. The cistern is, no doubt, as Dr. Schultz remarks (p. 118), the Cotton Grotto, marked *Quarry* in the Plan, described in H. C. Vol. II. pp. 470, 71.

75 feet high, (seen in Section E,) and the strata of the limestone corresponding with those of the Cave strengthen the impression that it was formerly all one hill, excavated for the purpose already mentioned.

In a wider range from the City-walls we have on the North *the Tombs of the Kings*, situated at the head of the Valley of Jehoshaphat¹, and on the East *the Church of the Ascension*, on the centre summit of the Mount of Olives²; but as these have been elsewhere described, I may now pass on to the Antiquities; and I trust it will be found that the attempt to identify and illustrate these will be much facilitated by the foregoing notices of the Modern and Mediæval City.

VI. THE ANCIENT CITY.

THE notices in detail of ancient Jerusalem contained in Canonical Scripture are very partial, being confined almost exclusively to the reconstruction of the walls by Nehemiah after the Babylonish Captivity; for the account of the building of the Temple and Solomon's other works relates almost entirely to the edifices themselves, and very little to their respective sites. The remaining notices are allusive rather than descriptive, and afford little to satisfy the curiosity that craves for particular information concerning the arrangement and adornment of the Holy City.

Very nearly the same may be said of the uninspired writers. The arrangement of the City is indeed graphically described by Aristæas³, and Tacitus has sketched its position and general appearance with his

¹ Described in H. C. II. pp. 518, &c.

² Ibid. pp. 445, 6.

³ See H. C. Vol. I. pp. 73-75.

usual vigour⁴; but it were vain to attempt a restoration of the old City from these very scanty materials. Josephus, the most accurate and best-informed writer on the subject, little aware of the importance that would one day be attached to his descriptive notices of his native City, has given only such particulars of its disposition as were necessary to render intelligible his account of the siege by Titus; and even here we find cause to complain of some important omissions, particularly in his account of the second wall. His other notices are, like those of the Sacred narrative, merely allusive.

Under these circumstances, it should be no matter of surprise that the earlier attempts to trace the features of ancient Jerusalem were so eminently unsuccessful, or that such diversity of opinion on the subject should still exist among archæologists, notwithstanding the increased advantages which their researches have derived from a more critical examination of ancient authors, and a more scientific survey of the City and its environs.

It were a wearisome task to notice and to comment on the fanciful restorations of Brocardus, Villalpandus, Lightfoot, and others, and could answer no good purpose. The principal parts of Dr. Robinson's theory have been fully considered in the IInd Chapter of the Second Part of my Work, and I must here assume the results without repeating the arguments. Dr. Schultz and Herr Krafft are the only other writers on the subject that are entitled to any consideration. I shall commence with the notices of Josephus, as the most sure and solid basis for the investigation, and shall then identify such sites as I can in the earlier Scripture notices.

⁴ H. C. Appendix to Vol. I. pp. 475, 6.

VII. THE CITY ACCORDING TO JOSEPHUS¹.

“THE city was fortified with three walls, save where it was skirted by the impassable ravines, (for here there was but one circuit), and it was built on two eminences, which fronted each other, and were divided by an intervening ravine, at the brink of which the closely-built houses terminated. Of these eminences that which had upon it the Upper City was by much the loftier, and in its length the straighter.

“This eminence (then), for its strength, used to be called the Strong-hold by King David, (he was the father of Solomon who first built the Temple), but by us it was called the Upper Forum. But the other (eminence), which was called Aera, and which supported the Lower City, was in shape gibbous. Opposite to this latter was a third eminence, which was naturally lower than Aera, and was once separated from it by another broad ravine, but afterwards, in the times when the Asmoneans reigned, they filled up the ravine, wishing to join the city to the temple; and having levelled the summit of Aera, they rendered it lower, so that in this quarter also the Temple might be seen rising above other objects.

“But the ravine called the Tyropæon (Cheesemakers’), which we mentioned as dividing the eminence of the Upper City and the Lower, reaches to Siloam,—for so we called the spring, both sweet and abundant. But in their outer sides the two eminences

¹ The following extracts are made from Bell. Jud. Lib. v. cap. iv. It may be necessary to caution the reader that no reliance can be placed in Whiston’s

translation, which is very inaccurate. The original is given in the Appendix to H.C. Vol. I. p. 473—475.

of the city were hemmed in within deep ravines; and by reason of the precipices on either side, there was no approach to them from any quarter."

This was the Old City, but in process of time the city, "being over-abundant in population, began gradually to creep beyond its old walls; and the people joining to the city the region which lay to the North of the Temple, and close to the hill (of Acra), advanced considerably; so that even a fourth eminence was surrounded with habitations, viz. that which is called Bezetha, situated opposite to the Antonia, and divided from it by a deep ditch. For the ground had been cut through on purpose, that the foundations of the Antonia might not, by joining the eminence, be easy of approach, and of inferior height." The Antonia, we are further told, was a Castle, situated at the N. W. angle of the outer enclosure of the Temple, occupying a precipitous rock 50 cubits high.

Such was the general disposition of ancient Jerusalem; and in proceeding to compare it with the modern city, it may be convenient to state broadly, at the outset, 1st, that the *Armenian and Jewish Quarters*, with so much of *Mount Sion* as is now excluded from the walls, composed the *Upper City*; 2dly, that the present *Mohammedan Quarter* corresponds exactly with the *Lower City*; 3dly, that the *Haram es-Sherif*, or Noble Sanctuary of the Moslems, occupies the *Temple Mount*, originally divided from the Hill *Acra*, (at the North of the *Lower City*), by a wide ravine, afterwards filled up by the Asmoneans; and, 4thly, that the *Haret Bab-el-Hitta* is the lower part of the *Hill Bezetha*, enclosed by the Wall of Agrippa, (A.D. 40), which wall also comprehended the *Christian Quarter*, and a considerable

space to the North of the modern city. The several parts of the ancient city were enclosed by distinct walls, which must be noticed in detail.

i. *The Upper City and Old Wall.*

“OF the three walls the old one was difficult to be taken, both on account of the ravines, and of the eminence above them, on which it was situated. But, in addition to the advantage of the position, it was also strongly built, as David and Solomon, and the kings after them, were very zealous about the work. Beginning towards the North from the tower called Hippicus, and passing through the [place] called Xystus, then joining the Council Chamber, it was united to the western cloister of the Temple. In the other direction, towards the West, commencing from the same place, and extending through a place called Bethso, to the gate of the Essenes, and then turning towards the South, above the fountain Siloam, thence again bending towards the East to the Pool of Solomon, and running through a place which they called Ophla, it was joined to the Eastern cloister of the Temple.”

Now the first remark to be made on this account, (and it is of the utmost importance for the right understanding of this description of the walls), is this, that Josephus commonly describes the wall by the quarter which it faces: thus, the North wall is that which faces the North; the West, that which faces the West; and so following¹. Hence, it is clear that the Hippic Tower lay in the N.W. corner of the Upper City.

¹ See this same remark in Dr. Robinson, *Bib. Res.* i. p. 411, n. 1. Dr. Schultz, on the contrary, charges the historian with great laxity in the use of

these expressions; but here, I think, through misapprehension of his meaning. *Jerusalem*, pp. 57, 69, 70. In some cases the charge is just.

1. *The North.*

BUT we have a more particular description of the Tower Hippicus, and of two other towers near it, erected by King Herod, in the Old Wall, excelling all in the world in size, beauty, and strength, dedicated to the memory of his brother, his friend, and his best-loved wife. "The Hippicus, named from his friend, was a square of 25 cubits, and 30 high, entirely solid. Above the part which was solid and constructed with massive stones, was a reservoir for the rain-water, 20 cubits in depth, and above this a house of two stories, 25 cubits high, divided into different apartments, above which rose battlements of 2 cubits, on parapets of 3 cubits, so that the whole height amounted to 80 cubits.

"But the second Tower, which he named from his brother Phasaëlus, was 40 cubits square, and solid to the height of 40 cubits; but above it was erected a cloister 10 cubits high, fortified with breastworks and ramparts. In the middle of the cloister was carried up another tower, divided into costly chambers, and a bath-room, so that the tower was in nothing inferior to a palace. Its summit was adorned with parapets and battlements more than the last-mentioned. It was in all 90 cubits high, and resembled the tower of Pharos near Alexandria, but was of much larger circumference.

"The third tower, Mariamne, was solid to the height of 30 cubits, and 20 cubits square, having above a richer and more exquisitely-ornamented dwelling. Its entire height was 55 cubits.

"Such in size were the three towers, but they looked much larger, through the site which they occupied. For both the old wall itself, in the range of

which they stood, was built upon a lofty eminence, and likewise a kind of crest of this eminence reared itself to the height of 30 cubits, on which the towers being situated, received much additional elevation. The towers were constructed of white marble, in pieces of 20 cubits long, 10 wide, and 5 deep, so exactly joined together that each tower appeared to be one mass of rock.

“To these, situated on the North, was joined within, the King’s Palace, surpassing all powers of description. It was entirely surrounded with a wall 30 cubits high, with decorated towers at equal intervals, and contained enormous banquetting-halls, capable of accommodating a hundred guests, besides numerous chambers, richly adorned. There were also many cloisters encircling one another, with different columns to each, surrounding green courts, planted with a variety of trees, having long avenues through them, and deep channels and reservoirs everywhere around, filled with bronze statues through which the water flowed, and many towers of tame doves about the fountains.”

These magnificent works of Herod the Great, designed, apparently, to defy the ravages of all time, have so entirely crumbled to dust, that their site is scarcely to be identified; and antiquaries are not yet agreed as to the position occupied by the Upper Palace and its three imposing towers. But the platform of rock occupied by the present citadel does so entirely answer to the rocky crest of the hill on which they stood, and its position so well corresponds to all that we read of the Palace¹, that I have no hesitation in fixing it

¹ See more fully H. C. Vol. II. pp. 14—17. Section A of the walls shews the rocky platform.

to this locality. The coincidence in measure between the N.W. (a) and N.E. (b) towers of the modern citadel, and the *Hippicus* and *Phasaelus* respectively, while it affords a strong confirmation of this view, furnishes other important landmarks in our survey of the ancient City; and the steep ridge, a little to the South of *the Street of David*, that may be traced down to the Bazaars, is easily recognized as the northern brow of Sion, on which also the third tower, *Mariamne*, must have stood (near c), and along which the old wall was carried.

This conclusion is farther strengthened by the position of the *Pool of the Bath*, which exactly answers to the Amygdalon, or Almond Pool, opposite to which the Romans erected one of their banks against the North wall of the Upper City². This Pool again fixes another important point in the topography of ancient Jerusalem, viz. the Monument of the high-priest John, by which this part of the New City is described in the Jewish War. It was about 30 cubits distant from the Pool; and as it is mentioned both in the attack on the first wall, and the defence of the second, it may be confidently concluded that it lay between the two³. In his description of the northern line of the *First Wall*, the historian makes no mention of any place between Hippicus and the Xystus, the former at its western extremity, the latter near its eastern termination, as is obvious from other passages; for this public gymnasium of Jerusalem was situated at the western end of the Bridge or Embankment that united the Upper City to the Temple-area, and joined the Palace of the Asmo-

² H. C. Vol. I. p. 180; II. pp. 19, 24, 38.

³ The position of this monument is fixed in H. C. Vol. II. pp. 19, 24.

means¹. The Causeway still exists, and is traversed by the *Street of the Temple*, that leads down from the *Bazaars* to the *Gate of the Chain*; and the Palace and Xystus may be safely assigned to the South side of that Street, the latter probably occupying the N.E. angle of Sion, the former, perhaps, attached to it, but certainly overlooking it, and commanding, from its upper chambers, an extensive view of the City, including the Temple-area.

The last place mentioned on this line of wall is the Council-Chamber. As it was between the Xystus and the western cloister of the Temple, there can be no difficulty in identifying its site with that of the Corresponding Office of Modern Jerusalem, the *Mehkemeh*, or Town-Hall—the Council-Chamber of the Judicial Divan².

There is, however, another point in the northern wall of the Upper City incidentally mentioned in another passage. The second wall, it is said, had “its beginning at a place in the old wall, called the *Gate Gennath*,”—that is, the Gate of the Gardens. This Gate, then, must have stood somewhere between the Hippic Tower and the Xystus³. The high crest of the eminence on which the three towers stood, with the palace-gardens within, would prevent an exit from the city towards the western part of the North wall; so that the Gate Gennath must have been considerably to the East of the Hippic Tower. Now it is a curious fact, that tradition has preserved the memory of a city-gate, at a spot (*e*) which would well agree with the position of the Gate Gennath, as determined by these consi-

¹ All this is proved at length (*ibid.*) Schultz. Jerusalem, p. 57.
pp. 392—397, and notes.

² H. C. II. pp. 42, 3. So also Dr.

³ H. C. II pp. 17, &c.

derations⁴; and it is certain that it could not be far distant.

2. *The West.*

BUT the wall of the Upper City has now to be traced in the opposite direction, commencing at Hippicus.

“It first ran southward (according to Josephus, with a western aspect) through a place called Bethso, to the Gate of the Essenes—then turning East, ran with a southern aspect above the fountain of Siloam.” It is an unfortunate circumstance that neither of the two sites first named—Bethso, nor the Gate of the Essenes—occur elsewhere, nor can they be identified with any other notices of the city. In default of this, however, the nature of the ground will hardly permit us to doubt that the old wall of Sion followed the line of the modern wall, along the *Towers of Gaza*, and continued in the same line along the western brow of the hill quite to the S. W. angle; and a remarkable ridge near the angle is probably composed of the foundations of the western wall. Whatever then may be the signification of these two words, concerning which the learned are not agreed⁵, it may be safely concluded that Bethso lay in the place now occupied by the *Garden of the Armenian Convent*, and that the Gate of the Essenes must have stood nearly at that point where a path still ascends the steep of Sion from the South end of the *Sultan's Pool*.

3. *The South.*

THE scarped rock at *the Baths of Tiberias* marks the line of the South wall of the Upper City, and traces

⁴ H. C. II. pp. 55, 6.

⁵ Dr. Schultz, Jerusalem, p. 58. Krafft, pp. 20, 151.

of the wall and ruined cisterns may still be seen in a continuous line from the South-west corner of the hill to a point South-east of *Nebi Daûd*, where a ditch hewn in the rock follows the curve of the highest brow of Sion nearly to the present city-wall, but can be traced no further.

Now Benjamin of Tudela¹ notices the ruins of the old wall of Sion, in the vicinity of the *Tomb of David* during the Frank domination; and again, after another interval of more than three centuries, Felix Fabri speaks of the foundations of the wall and towers as still existing in the garden of the Franciscan Convent, on the South-east corner of the hill².

Its course from this point is extremely doubtful. Josephus says only that "it ran above the Fountain of Siloam, thence bent eastward to the Pool of Solomon, and extending as far as a place called Ophla, was joined to the eastern cloister of the Temple."

Perhaps all that can be assumed as certain in this description is, that the Fountain of Siloam is identical with the modern *'Ain Silwan*, in position as in name.

The first difficulty, then, relates to the course of the wall from *Nebi Daûd* to Siloam. For although Josephus makes no mention of any inclination in the South wall, until after passing above Siloam, whence it continued with an eastern aspect, yet it is urged that the nature of the ground renders it highly improbable that the wall ran in a straight course: for the eastern declivity of Sion, near the mouth of the Tyropæon, is extremely steep, almost precipitous, and the natural

¹ Cited in H. C. Vol. I. p. 509.

² Evagatorium, Vol. I. p. 276.

advantage of the ground would thus have been lost to the fortification, as Dr. Schultz remarks³. He therefore carries the wall along the eastern brow of Sion, and makes it cross the Tyropœon some considerable distance above Siloam. And he finds authority for this in the cistern at the Cave of S. Peter, the masonry of which he considers similar to that at *the Baths of Tiberias*. He is followed by Krafft, who, however, adduces no new evidence⁴; and the Reviewer in the "Neues Repertorium" is of opinion that the old wall crossed the valley in the same place as the modern wall, viz. at the *Bab-el Mugharibeh*, or the Dung Gate⁵.

But, on the other hand, the silence of Josephus is almost decisive against these deviations of the main wall from the direct line between the two points specified; for he is generally very particular in his mention of its inflexions, and many incidental remarks in the course of his narrative seem to intimate that the Lower City included the whole of the Cheesemakers' Valley, quite to Siloam⁶, although it is clear that this Fountain was not included within the wall, but only commanded

³ Jerusalem, pp. 58, 59, and Plan.

⁴ Topographie, pp. 21—2, and Plan.

⁵ In p. 3, of an able Review of Dr. Schultz's book and my own, in Vol. vi. No. 1. The Reviewer's argument in support of this theory is founded on a misapprehension of Josephus. He takes the words *πάλιν ἐκκλίνον πρὸς ἀνατολήν κ.λ.* to imply that the wall had run east before; but it is clear that the *πάλιν* refers to the *ἐκκλίνον*, not to the *πρὸς ἀνατολήν*—to the inclination, not to the direction.

⁶ Thus in Bell. Jud. v. iv. the Ty-

ropœon which separated the two hills of the city, is said to extend to Siloam: this, however, is not decisive. But in the account of the two days' sack of the Lower City, we are told that on the first day "the Romans fired the Record Office, and the Acra, and the Council-chamber; and the fire advanced as far as the place of Helena, which was situated in the middle of Acra." Bell. Jud. vi. vi. 3. On the following day they drove the robbers from the Lower City, and burnt all as far as Siloam. vii. 2.

by it¹. Since it is certain, however, that the Upper City was entirely encompassed by a wall of its own—for the Romans had to make regular advances against it, even after they were masters of all the Lower City including Ophla and Siloam—it is very probable that the East wall of the Upper City did follow the brow of the ridge, along a line nearly coincident with the aqueduct, until it joined the North wall at the Xystus, while the main wall continued its easterly course down the steep slope of Sion, and across the Valley of the Tyropœon, not far from its mouth, and a little above the Pool of Siloam.

4. *The East.*

Its further course to the Temple is equally obscure, as the historian has not fixed any of the points mentioned in connexion with this part of the old wall, neither the Pool of Solomon, nor Ophla, nor the Basilica of Grapte, or Monobazus². With regard to the

¹ For it is certain, from the harangue of Josephus (v. ix. 4), that its water was available to the Romans before the Lower City was taken, which it could not have been if it was included in the walls, as Dr. Robinson supposes, B. R. i. p. 460. He takes the περιτείχισμα in Bell Jud. vi. viii. 5, for "a wall around the fountain;" but it is clearly the wall of circumvallation. In the distribution of the City between the two factions, when assailed by Titus, "Simon held the Upper City, and the great wall (*i. e.* the third) as far as the Kedron, and so much of the old wall as bends from Siloam to the east, and went down as far as the Hall of Monobazus.... He held also the fountain, and the Acra, which is the

Lower City, and all as far as the Palace of Helena the mother of Monobazus. But John held the Temple, and a great space about it, and Ophla and the Valley of the Kedron." (Lib. v. vi. l.)

² I have suggested that the wall running from Siloam to the Hall of Monobazus, mentioned in the last note, was the east wall of Sion, (H. C. Vol. i. p. 147, note 3), and also that this Hall of Monobazus was at the ancient Palace or House of the Asmoneans, where King Agrippa built his obnoxious chamber, (Ant. xx. vii. 11. Bell. Jud. ii. xvi. 3. H. C. Vol. i. p. 153), identical also with the Royal Hall built by Grapte, a female relative of Izats, the brother of Monobazus, and both sons of Monobazus the Elder and

Pool, I consider its identity with the Fountain of the Virgin extremely doubtful³; for this cavity is certainly not a Pool, and the writer who designates this a Pool would hardly have described Siloam as a Fountain. Indeed, I much question whether the mouth of the *Virgin's Fountain* was not stopped during the later years of the Jewish Commonwealth; for we certainly have no other notice of it in the history. It is clear, too, that in this as in other passages, Ophla is used in a more restricted sense than has been lately supposed: it was apparently a large building on the line of wall between the Pool of Solomon and the Temple, and not the whole of the sloping ridge South of the Temple⁴. The Basilica, or Royal Hall of Monobazus, must have stood between Ophla and Siloam; for in the distribution of the walls between Simon and John, the former, who held the fountain, occupied also the wall between Siloam and the Basilica; while the latter, who defended the Temple and the parts about it, held also Ophla and the Valley of the Kedron⁵.

Helena. (Bell. Jud. iv. ix. 11. H. C. Vol. II. p. 395, note 4.) On further consideration, I think it more likely that the Hall of Monobazus and the Royal Hall of Grapte are identical but distinct from the House of the Asmoneans or Palace of Agrippa. The Royal Hall is again mentioned (vi. vii. 1), evidently without the Upper City, but with no definite notice of its site. I am disposed, however, to understand the bend in the wall at Siloam in the last note, to be the same that is mentioned in the account of the Walls, the result of which will be to bring the Basilica, or Royal Hall of Grapte, or Monobazus, on the ridge commonly

called Ophel, between Siloam and the Temple.

³ Dr. Robinson considers them identical (Vol. I. p. 460); but finds "no other passage in Josephus which can be applied to this ancient fountain." Dr. Schultz takes the old Pool of Siloam, now filled up, for Solomon's Pool; but this is to suppose the same site mentioned under two different names, which is very improbable. (Jerusalem, pp. 58, 59). So also his echo, Krafft, p. 21.

⁴ See more at length H. C. Vol. II. p. 365, n. 7. Dr. Robinson's view is given in Bib. Res. I. p. 394.

⁵ See p. 80, notes 1, 2.

The nature of the ground does not help us on the East more than on the South. There are three observations, however, which may throw some light upon the course of this wall. The *first* is, that "on the narrow ridge North of Siloam, and South of the Temple, at the distance of 960 feet from the city-wall, are scarped rocks, apparently the foundations of a wall or some other like structure¹;" the *second*, that, below the S. E. angle of the Haram, the Kedron "bends S. W. round the corner," and that the wall of "the S. E. corner of the enclosure stands directly on the very brink of the steep descent, and impends over the valley, which is here about 150 feet deep²," so that the old wall must have made an angle here; the *last*, that this S. E. angle still retains the features of a tower, once perhaps attached to the original Ophla³; while the lower part of the South wall of the Haram exhibits traces of ancient masonry, supposed to be Jewish, in a continuous line from this angle to its point of junction with the modern city-wall⁴.

In the absence, therefore, of more satisfactory evidence on the subject, I would place the Basilica of Grapte or Monobazus near the present *Mosk el-Aksa*, and draw the wall from Siloam above the scarped rock noticed by Dr Robinson, joining the line of the present city-wall at the S. E. of the *Garden* (near Section I.), and following it up to *el-Aksa*, and along the South side of the Haram, to the S. E. angle; and then continue it, past Ophla, still in the line of the present wall,

¹ Bib. Res. I. p. 460, note 5.

² Ibid. pp. 429, 430.

³ See H. C. II. pp. 365—368.

⁴ See Mr Tipping in Traill's Josephus, p. 46, and H. C. II. 319.

until it joined the Eastern Cloister quite at its southern extremity.

“The Pool of Solomon” I should like to connect with the Royal Pool, which existed formerly, and probably still exists beneath the pavement of the Haram, before the porch of *El-Aksa*, or with the reservoir beneath the *El-Aksa* itself, with which the *Well of the Leaf* communicates⁵.

ii. *The Lower City and Second Wall.*

I HAVE dwelt at length on the First or Old Wall, because I have before had no occasion to investigate it. The Second Wall I shall dismiss much more summarily, after the precedent of the Jewish historian, particularly as I have elsewhere discussed it⁶.

“It had its beginning at the Gate Gennath, which was a place in the Old Wall, and encompassing the Northern parts of the city, ended at the tower Antonia.” *The Gate Gennath* has been already fixed (*e*)⁷. A little to the East of that point, a valley-like depression runs through Mount Sion from North to South. Here, I apprehend, was the junction of the second wall, and the *crown* of a massive *circular arch* (at *f*) may mark the position of one of its gates. There are *ancient columns* in a coffee-shop hard by (*g*).

At a distance of nearly 400 feet North of this arch is a mass of old masonry with a *spring-course of an arch* entire (*h*), apparently another gate in the second Wall. At a further distance of 400 feet (*k*) are the remains of a wall and portal which Dr Schultz thinks may have belonged to the same wall; but they are more probably

⁵ These cisterns are noticed in
H. C. Vol. II. pp. 469, 481.

⁶ H. C. II. pp. 55—60, and 428—430.

⁷ Above, p. 76.

ruins of the propylæum of Constantine's Basilica, or Martyry of the Resurrection, as the *cistern* of the Copt Convent, called the *Treasury of S. Helena* (l), was a crypt of the Church or of the Court in front of it. In the N. W. angle formed by the *Street of S. Stephen* and the *Street of the Holy Sepulchre*, is the shaft of a column and other indications of ancient masonry, said to mark the site of the *Porta Judiciaria*, "the Gate of Judgment" (o). No other remains have hitherto been found North of this, but a steep bank on the West side of *S. Stephen's Street* perhaps marks the continuation of the Second Wall, until its junction with the modern city-wall, about 300 feet West of the Damascus Gate, where Dr. Wilson noticed a wall of cyclopean masonry. On either side of the Damascus Gate is a chamber of huge bevelled stones (rr), apparently connected with the fortification of the wall, at its weakest part, where it crossed the *Valley of the Tyropæon*. Hence, it probably followed the line of the present wall nearly to the *Gate of Herod*, where it turned South, and was drawn along the high ridge which rises up steeply from the valley-like depression that runs down from the Gate of Herod to the western end of the *Birket Israël*. In this Valley, no doubt, lay the great pool so often mentioned by mediæval writers, which in more ancient times formed the fosse of the Fortress Antonia, at which fortress the second wall terminated.

iii. *The New City and Third Wall.*

THE wall that enclosed the New City was commenced by King Agrippa in A. D. 40, but the building was interrupted by the suspicions of Claudius, and only completed during the preparations made by the Jews for the final struggle, and then not on the scale on

which it had been commenced. Its course is described as follows. "It commenced at the tower Hippicus, from whence it extended to the northern quarter as far as the tower Psephinus, then passing opposite to the monuments of Helena, and being produced through the Royal Caves, it bent at the angular tower by the Monument called the Fuller's, and joining the old wall, terminated at the Valley of the Kedron." It was commenced with stones 20 cubits long and 10 wide, and was raised by the Jews to the height of 25 cubits, with the battlements.

The positions of the various towers and monuments mentioned in this description have exercised the ingenuity of the learned, but they have arrived at strangely different conclusions. I have already stated that the massive ruins of the *Castle of Goliath*, formerly Tancred's Tower, were regarded as remains of the Psephine Tower by Felix Fabri¹. He has been followed, in modern times, by Krafft, who, however, has adduced no valid arguments in support of this theory². I agree with Drs Robinson and Schultz in drawing the commencement of the Third Wall along the course of the present wall, and producing it in the same line along the highest part of the rocky ridge that attains its greatest elevation near the N.W. angle of the modern city³. Indeed, considerable remains of this wall may still be traced, even from the Jaffa Gate to some old foundations occupying the highest part of the ridge indicated. These foundations, Dr Schultz says, certainly

¹ See above, p. 48, and reference.

² Topographie, pp. 40, 41, and Plan. He strangely misrepresents Brocardus, whom see in Canisii. Thes., Tom. iv.

pp. 18, 21, ed. Basnage.

³ Bib. Res. i. p. 465, and Theolog. Rev. p. 447. Schultz's Jerusalem, pp. 62, 63.

belonged to the Tower Psephinus, the octagonal form of which tower he thinks may still be recognized in the ground-plan of these massive ruins: while a large cistern in the midst of them is a further confirmation of their identity, as we are informed that the towers were furnished with reservoirs for rain-water. This octagonal tower was the most wonderful part of this Third Wall, rising in its N.W. angle to the height of 70 cubits, and commanding a view of Arabia on the East, and the remotest limits of the Hebrew possessions, as far as the sea.

The next point mentioned in this wall is "the Monuments of Helena," which Josephus elsewhere tells us were three pyramids situated three stadia from the city¹. Pausanias, a hundred years later (A. D. 174), speaks² of the tomb of Helena in the city Solyma, with a stone door so constructed as only to open one day in the year, always at the same hour. Being thus opened only by mechanical contrivance, it closes again after a short interval: and should you attempt to open it at another time, you would break it before you could succeed. They are next mentioned by Eusebius, as remarkable monumental pillars still shewn in the suburbs of Jerusalem³. S. Jerome, nearly a century later, perhaps intimates that they still stood; for when describing S. Paula's approach to Jerusalem, he says that she had the mausoleum of Helena on her left⁴. The latest notice

¹ θάψαι προσέταξεν ἐν ταῖς πυραμίσιν τρεῖς τὸν ἀριθμὸν τρία στάδια τῆς τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν πόλεως ἀπεχούσας. Ant. xx. iii. 3.

² Pausanias, Lib. viii. (Arcadia) cap. xvi. Tom. II. p. 501, ed. Bekker. Happily for his veracity, he does not speak as an eye-witness, as Valesius intimates.

³ Hist. Eccles. Lib. II. cap. xii. εἰσέτι νῦν στῆλαι διαφανεῖς ἐν προαστείοις δείκνυνται τῆς νῦν Αἰλίας. Vid. Valesii Annot. in loc.

⁴ "Ad lævam mausoleo Helenæ derelicto ingressa est Ierusalymam urbem," &c. Epist. ad Eustochium virginem, Op. Tom. IV. pars II. p. 673.

is that of the Armenian writer, Moses Chorenensis, probably in the fifth century, who describes it as a remarkable monument before the gates of Jerusalem⁵. Notwithstanding these frequent notices, it is very difficult to determine the position with any degree of precision; for it is extremely uncertain whether Josephus's three stadia are to be measured from the outer wall or the second; the statements of Pausanias and Eusebius are utterly vague and indefinite; the value of that of S. Jerome, which promises most, is vitiated by the uncertainty that attends the movements of S. Paula after her visit to Gibeah of Benjamin; and the Armenian writer is worthless, because he indicates no particular gate.

The difficulty of fixing Helena's Monuments from these data is obvious from the discrepancies of archæologists; for while Professor Robinson assigns them to the *Tombs of the Kings*, Dr Schultz finds traces of them near the *Tombs of the Martyrs*; the former apparently measuring the three stadia from the second, the latter from the outer wall⁶. I cannot assent to Dr Robinson's theory, for reasons already stated⁷; while that of Dr Schultz appears involved in no less difficulty, besides being open to this additional objection, that it compels him to continue the west wall more than 3000 feet north of Psephinus, thereby leaving that tower, not at the N.W. angle of the outer wall, but near the middle of its west side. I am therefore disposed to look for the Monuments of Helena among some tombs excavated

⁵ *Historiæ Armeniacæ*, Lib. II. cap. xxxii. p. 145, ed. Whiston; and for the date of the author, see Prefat. pp. xix., xx.

⁶ *Bib. Res.* I. pp. 465, 535—38. Schultz's *Jerusalem*, pp. 63—67, and their *Plans*.

⁷ *H. C.* II. p. 520.

in a rocky court, on the right-hand side of the *Road* that leads to *Nebi Samwil*, about three stadia from the outer wall. This situation will agree very well with all the notices of the Monuments in question, which are further mentioned in two passages relating to the preparatory operations of the Romans. Titus advances to the city from Gibeah of Saul, with 600 picked cavalry, to reconnoitre¹. While he kept the direct road to the walls no one appeared before the gates; but when he declined from the road towards the Psephine Tower, and led the troop transversely, numbers of the enemy suddenly rushed forth near the Women's Towers, through the gate opposite to the Monuments of Helena, and drawing up opposite to those who were yet on the road, prevented them from joining those that had declined, and so cut off Titus with a few of his soldiers, that he had great difficulty in recovering the road. Now this account can only be understood by supposing that the gate in question lay between the Northern Road and the Psephine Tower, towards which Titus was advancing. On another occasion² the Jews, advancing out of the Women's Towers, succeed, by a feint, in drawing the Romans between the Towers of the Gate. The latter, with great difficulty and after considerable loss, make good their retreat, and are pursued by the Jews as far as the Monuments of Helena. They retreated, no doubt, towards the Nablûs Road, for their camp was on Scopus, and the Monuments must therefore have been East of the Women's Towers.

There is a further difference between Drs Schultz and Robinson concerning the Royal Caves, next men-

¹ Josephus, Bell. Jud. v. ii. 1, 2.

² Ibid. v. iii. 3.

tioned in the description of the North wall; the former³ identifying them with the sepulchral excavations of the upper parts of the Kedron, commencing with the *Tombs of the Kings*; the latter⁴, with some rock-graves to the S. E. of those Tombs, and near the brow of the valley. They consequently differ as to the course of the wall through this part; for while Dr Robinson draws it 1200 feet South of the Tombs, Dr Schultz makes it include them, which appears to me highly improbable. The whole subject, however, is full of difficulty, and I am glad to take refuge from a dilemma in the belief that several fine sepulchral excavations in this vicinity may have gone by the general name of the "Royal Caves⁵," and that the wall did actually pass through them, along the brink of the Valley of Jehoshaphat. I think that Dr Robinson does not extend the wall far enough North; for the expression of Josephus, with reference to it, intimates an extension in this direction; a fact which is further confirmed by his statement of the total length of this wall, of which more will be said in the sequel.

The two scholars above named are also at variance on the identity of the Royal Caves with the Monuments of Herod; Dr Robinson inclining to the opinion that they are identical, while Dr Schultz⁶ places them as

³ Jerusalem, p. 64. There can be no doubt, I think, that the Royal Caves are identical with the Royal Monuments in which Aristobulus was buried. Bell. Jud. i. ix. 1. But this gives us no clue to their position.

⁴ Bib. Res. i. pp. 534, 5.

⁵ See this same conjecture in Dr Schultz's Jerusalem, p. 64, and H. C.

Vol. II. p. 523. I wish I could find warrant for Dr Robinson's suggestion, when advocating the same view, (Bib. Res. i. p. 535), viz. that "the tombs with sunken courts," such as are found in these parts may have been "a style appropriated to royalty."

⁶ Bib. Res. i. 534, 5. Jerusalem, p. 67.

far asunder as the *Tombs of the Kings* and the *Charnel-house of the Lion*, in which last he finds the Monuments of Herod. These Monuments are twice mentioned, unless perhaps the singular in one passage and the plural in the other point to two different localities¹. Titus, wishing to facilitate the approach of his troops, levels the whole space from Scopus to the wall, and then it is said that the space was levelled as far as the Monuments of Herod². Surely the two expressions are equivalent, and the Monuments must have been contiguous to the North wall, opposite the Northern Road. What occasion would there be to level as far as the *Pool of Mamilla*? Then, if I was prepared to admit that the Monument of Herod in the subsequent passage is identical with the Monuments in the preceding, (which is extremely doubtful, to say the least,) yet I should still be obliged to fix them on the North of the City, for the following reason³. When Titus had taken the New City, he encamped within its wall, at a place called “the Camp of the Assyrians”—and held all as far as the Kedron⁴. A council of war⁵ having determined to draw a wall of circumvallation around the devoted City, it was commenced from this Camp of the Assyrians, where Titus was encamped, was drawn along the lower part of the New City, thence through the Kedron to Mount Olivet, and then, having encircled the City on the East and South, along a line which I shall hereafter endeavour to follow, and having enclosed the Mount where Pompey encamped, turned North, advanced as far as a village called the House of the Erebinthi, after that

¹ As Dr Robinson supposes. *Ibid.* p. 535, n. 6. The question will be examined below.

² Bell. Jud. v. iii. 2.

³ *Ibid.* vii. 3. ⁴ 2 Kings xviii. 17.

⁵ Bell. Jud. v. xii. 2.

embraced the Monument of Herod, and was joined on the East to his own camp, whence it commenced.

In attempting to clear up one difficulty, we here encounter another—as is so often the case in Josephus. Where was “the Camp of the Assyrians?” for it is obvious that the Monuments of Herod lay to the West of it⁶, as the Kedron did to the East. Dr Schultz having placed the House of the Erebinthi at *Abu Wa’ir*⁷, marks the N.W. corner of the Modern City, now occupied by the Latin Convent, as the Camp of the Assyrians⁸; then his Monument of Herod (the *Charnel-house of the Lion*) is on the West. But this does not at all satisfy the language of Josephus, who implies that the West line of circumvallation terminated at the House of the Erebinthi, so that the Monument of Herod was on the North line, whereas, according to this view, both were on the West line, the direction of which appears unreasonable and incomprehensible, as drawn in his Plan.

I feel constrained, then, to fix the Camp of the Assyrians on a comparatively level space, to the North of the Modern City, between the *Tombs of the Kings* (identical, I think, with Herod’s Monuments,) and the *Valley of the Kedron*.

I think I find authority for this position of the Camp of the Assyrians, in the last point mentioned by Josephus in the Wall of Agrippa. This is the Fuller’s Monument, situated near the corner tower at the N. E. angle of the New City⁹. This Fuller’s

⁶ This seems decisive against Dr Robinson’s theory above stated, for if the Tombs of Herod, identical with the Royal Caves, lay where he places them, there was no room for the camp of Titus to the East.

⁷ Jerusalem, p. 72.

⁸ See his Plan, Memoir, pp. 72, 82.

⁹ Dr Schultz identifies this Fuller’s Monument with a remarkable grave among those that are perforated in the rocky face of the Valley of Jehosha-

Monument I cannot but connect with the Fuller's Field, mentioned with the camping-place of the Assyrian host¹. Here also I am so unfortunate as to be at variance with the two scholars² so often mentioned, who have a tradition, of no great antiquity, in their favour, when they assign the Fuller's Field to the *Turbet Mamillah*³. But more of this hereafter.

If the *Tombs of the Kings* be the Monuments of Herod, I should like to identify the Tank in their immediate vicinity with the Serpents' Pool⁴. But I feel that the whole subject of this North wall is so involved in difficulty, that it ill becomes one to dogmatize on any particular connected with it. Between the Tombs of the Kings and the Corner Tower, Dr Schultz discovered, along the brink of the Valley of Jehoshaphat⁵, foundations of the old wall, which doubtless followed the bend of the Valley, and ran along its brow⁶ until it was joined, says the historian, to the old wall at the Kedron Valley. As he had said that the old wall ended at the eastern cloister of the Temple, the only intelligible meaning that can be assigned to this account of the termination of the Wall of Bezetha is, that it joined the northern extremity of the eastern wall of the Temple, as the old wall did its southern extremity; but

phat, east of the Tombs of the Kings, and thinks he has found traces of the angular tower. Jerusalem, p. 64. Compare p. 33, where he more fully describes the Tomb.

¹ 2 Kings xviii. 17. Isaiah vii. 3.

² Bib. Res. i. p. 484. Schultz's Jerusalem, pp. 84, 5.

³ Brocardus, however, who seems to be the earliest (A. D. 1230), is very obscure, and possibly does not allude

to this locality. Canisii Thes. iv. p. 21. Eusebius and St Jerome speak of it as still shewn ἐν προαστείοις, in suburbiiis Hierusalem. Onomasticon, sub voc. *Ager Fullonis*.

⁴ Bell. Jud. v. iii. 2. See H. C. ii. p. 522, for the Tank.

⁵ Jerusalem, p. 64.

⁶ Perhaps along a precipice of rock, scarped probably to add to the defence of the new city on the east side.

in one place he regards it as the wall, in the other as the cloister, of the Temple. It was in fact both⁷.

The principal difficulty connected with this extremely difficult subject must now be mentioned; and it is curious that it has hitherto escaped notice or comment. After his description of the Walls the historian proceeds to the towers, to his account of which, already given, he adds⁸, that the third wall (*i.e.* the outer wall of Agrippa) had ninety towers 20 cubits wide, at intervals of 200 cubits; the middle wall was divided into fourteen, the old wall into sixty. As the elements of the towers on the middle and old walls are not stated, we can only assume their intervals equal to those on the third. Now if we leave out of the calculation the width of the towers, and suppose Josephus to reckon from the middle of one tower to the middle of the next, 90 intervals of 200 cubits will give us ($90 \times 200 =$) 18,000 cubits for the third wall; 14 intervals of 200 cubits ($14 \times 200 =$) 2800 cubits, for the middle wall; and 60 intervals of 200 cubits ($60 \times 200 =$) 12,000 cubits for the old wall, or 45, 7, and 30 stadia respectively. Now the length of the North front of the old wall between Hippicus and the Temple must have been about 2000 feet. Let us allow it 4 stadia, and the remaining 26, added to the 45 of Agrippa's wall, will give the circuit of the entire city as 71 stadia, or nine Roman miles, *minus* one stadium. Yet Josephus, in

⁷ Dr Robinson makes the "junction with the ancient wall, *in the Valley* of the Kedron," supposing it to pass "along that valley, until it met the ancient wall coming up from the south on the east of the Temple." Bib. Res. i. p. 465. This hypothesis seems to me

quite untenable: Dr Schultz makes the wall of Bezetha join the *second* wall at the N. E. angle of the present city. See Plan. This is directly contrary to Josephus. Krafft agrees with me.

⁸ Bell. Jud. v. iv. 3.

immediate connexion with this statement, computes the circuit of the entire city as 33 stadia, or four Roman miles, *plus* one stadium, *i. e.* less than half the sum arrived at by the former process, and less by 12 stadia (a mile and a half) than the length assigned to the third wall. This last consideration renders all attempts to reconcile the conflicting statements perfectly hopeless; for the details of this wall are most fully given, and the measures here least liable to error. Is it possible that, as in the commencement of his description he regards the Old City apart from the New, so at the conclusion, he states the circumference only of the first and second walls¹? Or can the obliquities and sinuosities of the walls noticed by Tacitus², still to be traced in the zig-zag course of their foundations³, equalize the difference? If neither of these theories is admissible, the difficulty appears to me insurmountable—the particular statement is too large, and the general one too small: the middle wall is the only one whose length is at all accurately stated.

iv. *The Temple and its Courts*⁴.

As I have elsewhere devoted a long Chapter to this subject⁵, I shall here only add such particulars as will serve to explain the letters of reference, which, (as in the case

¹ This would give 37 stadia: but four stadia might be deducted for the part of the Old wall covered by the Second, and for its East line along Mount Sion covered by the outer wall.

² Cited in H. C. Vol. I. p. 476.

³ Bib. Res. I. p. 466.

⁴ As the tract Middoth (Measures) in the Mishna is devoted expressly to this subject, I give in the text the di-

mensions there stated, but mark the variations of Josephus in the notes. But see H. C. Vol. II. p. 342, n. 3. I use Surenhusius's Edition of the Mishna, where the Tract Middoth is given in Tom. v. p. 325, et seq. The vth Chapter of the vth Book of the Jewish War is devoted to the Temple.

⁵ H. C. Vol. II. chap. iv. pp. 295, &c.

of the figures,) are repeated in the Supplementary Plan from *a* to *r* inclusive, and refer to the Antiquities.

a. The Place of the Altar.—This is ascertained by a bore in the Sacred Rock of the Moslems, communicating with a cave which answers exactly to the description given in the Mishna⁶ of the drain and cess-pool of the Jewish altar, which communicated with the great sewer by which the offal ran off into the Kedron, and was sold as manure to the gardeners. Its mouth may still be seen above the Fountain of the Virgin⁷.

At the S.W. horn of the altar were two orifices to the drain like two small nostrils, one on the West of the base, through which flowed the blood that was sprinkled on the inner part of the altar, and one on the South, through which flowed that of the interior altar. There was, also, a place one cubit square, closed with a marble slab, through which a man descended to cleanse it⁸. The altar which was 32 cubits square at the base, was gradually contracted, until the hearth at the top became 24 cubits square⁹. It was 15 cubits high according to Josephus, and had an ascent by an inclined plane on the South side, 32 cubits long, and 16 wide. On the North of the altar, at the distance of 8 cubits, commenced six rows of rings, four in a row, at which the sacrifices were slaughtered, and near the rings a series of low columns supporting cedar-beams with iron hooks, to which were hung the victims during the process of flaying; and marble tables stood between

⁶ This was first noticed by Professor Willis. See H. C. Vol. II. p. 196, note, and pp. 341, 2, and notes—where (and in p. 303) the Cave is described. See Middoth, cap. iii. sect. ii. Mishna, Tom. v. p. 355. Conf. Yoma,

cap. v. sect. vi. Ibid. Tom. II. p. 236.

⁷ H. C. Vol. II. p. 453.

⁸ See Middoth, l. c. p. 356.

⁹ The Altar is described in Middoth, cap. III. i. p. 348.

the columns for washing their entrails, and otherwise preparing them for the sacrifice¹.

The space between the altar and the porch of the Temple was 22 cubits², rising in a gentle ascent by steps to the propylæum, the door of which was 40 cubits high and 20 wide³.

b. The Holy House itself was divided into three parts, the Pronäus or Vestibule, the Sanctuary or Holy Place, and the Holy of Holies. I cannot enter into a detailed description of it, but must satisfy myself with giving its most important dimensions. The author of Middoth says that the Temple was 100 cubits in length, and width, and height⁴. The length was thus⁵: The East wall of the Vestibule 5 cubits, the Pronäus 11, the wall of the Sanctuary 6, the Sanctuary 40, the wall of the Holy of Holies 1, the Holy of Holies itself 20⁶, its wall 6, the chamber to the West 6, and its wall 5 cubits:—100 cubits in all. The general exterior width was 70 cubits, of which the Sanctuary occupied only 20⁶, the remainder being distributed into side chambers and their walls. But the Pronäus was 30 cubits wider, (15 on the North and 15 on the South), so that while the Pronäus was 100 cubits wide in front, the hinder part of the Holy House was contracted, and offered the Rabbies an explanation of the name “Ariel” (Lion) applied to the Temple, as they supposed, by the Prophet

¹ Middoth, sect. v. p. 359. In cap. v. i. p. 375, the dimensions of these spaces is clearly given.

² Ibid. cap. iii. sect. vi. p. 359.

³ Ibid. sect. vii. p. 361. Josephus says 70 cubits high and 25 wide, without the doors.

⁴ Ibid. sect. v. cap. iv. i. p. 371.

Josephus states that its eastern elevation, *i.e.* the Pronäus, was 100 cubits in height and the same in width.

⁵ Ib. sect. vii. p. 373.

⁶ Josephus likewise makes the Sanctuary 40, and the Most Holy Place 20 cubits in length, the same in height, and only 20 in width. *l.c.* sect. v.

Isaiah; for a Lion, they argued, is narrower behind and broader in front⁷. The Pronäus alone was carried the entire height of the building, having an elevation of 90 feet within; while the Sanctuary and Most Holy Place had chambers above. This vestibule was richly gilded throughout, with patterns of vines and clusters of grapes, and was divided from the Sanctuary by doors 55 cubits high and 16 wide, before which was a richly-broidered Babylonian veil of variegated colours.

On the sides of the Temple were numerous chambers, in three stories, reaching to the height of 60 cubits⁸; but the middle part, over the Sanctuary and Holy of Holies, had an additional elevation of 40 cubits, distributed likewise into chambers, exhibiting, in fact, an enormously developed clerestory of equal exterior height with the Vestibule.

The front of the Temple was plated with gold, and reflected back the beams of the rising sun with dazzling effect⁹. Viewed from a distance the pile of buildings looked like a mountain covered with snow; for where it was not encrusted with gold it was exceeding white. Its roof was armed with golden spikes to prevent the birds from settling on it; and some of the stones of which it was constructed were 45 cubits long, 5 deep, and 6 wide. An elegant stone fence one cubit high surrounded the Temple and altar, separating between the priests and the people.

⁷ Isaiah xxix. 1, &c. Middoth, l. c. Josephus mentions this peculiarity, but states that the hinder part was contracted 40 cubits, allowing what he aptly terms the shoulders

(wings) of the porch 20 cubits excess on either side, l. c. sect. 4.

⁸ Josephus, B. J. v. v. 5.

⁹ Ibid, sect. 6.

Immediately to the East of the altar was the Court of the Priests, 135 cubits in length and 11 in width ; and East of that, again, was the Court of Israel, of the same dimensions¹. The former was raised $2\frac{1}{2}$ cubits above the level of the latter.

cc. The Wall which separated the Court of Israel from the Court of the Women. This latter was considerably below the level of the former, and the ascent was by a flight of fifteen semicircular steps, at the head of which was the magnificent Gate of Corinthian brass, 50 cubits in height, with doors of 40 cubits². Under the platform of the Court of Israel were two chambers, opening into the Women's Court, in which were kept the musical instruments of the Levites³. This Court was 135 cubits square, and in its four corners were chambers 40 cubits square, devoted to several uses. There were entrances to this Court from the middle of its three sides.

d, e, f, g. The boundary of the Inner Temple and its intermural space.

The Inner Temple was separated from the outer Court by a stone wall three cubits in height, on which stood pillars at equal intervals with inscriptions in Greek and Latin forbidding access to aliens⁴. To this Court was an ascent of fourteen steps, then a level space of ten cubits, and a further ascent of five steps to the Gates, of which there were four on the North and South sides, and two on the East, including those of the Women's Court, which is sometimes included and sometimes excluded from the Inner Temple⁵. Between the

¹ Middoth, cap. ii. sect. 6.

² Ibid. cap. ii. sect. 5. l. c. p. 341.
Josephus, Bell. Jud. v. v. 2, 3.

³ Middoth, *ibid.* sect. 6, p. 344.

⁴ Josephus, Bell. Jud. v. v. 2.

⁵ Holy City, Vol. 11. p. 343, n. 5.

Gates were single cloisters, running before the treasures (*hh*), adorned with large and beautiful columns.

kkkk. The outer Court, according to the Middoth⁶, was a square of 500 cubits, but Josephus allows it only a stadium⁷, or 400 cubits. Even the largest measure must be too small, if the present area be taken to represent either in length or width the dimensions of the Ancient Temple. It was originally surrounded with double cloisters⁸ on all sides; but on the South the Royal Porch was substituted by Herod the Great. This was a triple colonnade consisting of 162 Corinthian columns, arranged in four rows⁹. The two side aisles were each 30 feet wide, and the centre ambulatory 45 feet. The cloister was one stadium in length.

There were four entrances to the outer Court on the West¹⁰. One the Gate Shallecheth (*m*) leading to the Palace on Sion, by the Causeway (*l*); two others, (*n, o*) into the Valley of the Tyropæon, called by Josephus the Suburb, probably the Millo of the historical books, of which *n* may be the Gate Parbar, *o* the Gate of Asuppm, by which name the fourth (*p*), which led into the other City or Acra, was likewise called.

q. The Fortress Antonia occupied the N. W. angle of the Temple Area¹¹, and the modern *Seraîyah* corresponds with that ancient official residence both in situation and in the use to which it is designated. It is

⁶ Cap. II. sect. i. p. 334.

⁷ Ant. xv. xi. 3, but in Bell Jud. v. l. c. he says it was six stadia including Antonia. The difficulties are stated in H. C. II. 344—47, but I have no solution to propose that is satisfactory to myself.

⁸ Ant. VIII. iii. 9.

⁹ It is not my fault that 162 will not divide by 4: I simply follow Josephus. Ant. xv. xi. 5. I do not repeat the particulars given in H. C. Vol. II. pp. 329, 30.

¹⁰ More fully described in H. C. Vol. II. pp. 41—49.

¹¹ Ibid. pp. 403—11.

also based on a platform of rock answering to that which supported the ancient Castle¹. On the North side was only one Gate, Tedi²; and I think it probable that *Bab el-Hitta* is its modern representative. The approach to this Gate is over two arched vaults (*ss*) which run in westward from the *Pool of Bethesda* for upwards of 100 feet³. It would appear that this expedient was adopted from early times to add to the defence of the Temple, as such a bridge could easily be broken down for the security of the Gate⁴. The *Birket Israil* is doubtless the fosse described by Strabo and Josephus as covering the Temple on the North⁵: but it may still be the *Bethesda* of the Gospel, situated by the Sheep-gate, which Nehemiah would teach us to look for in this neighbourhood⁶. Indeed, it is very possible that the North Gate of the Outer Temple, the Tedi of the Mishna, now represented by *Bab el-Hitta*, may be the very Sheep-gate mentioned in conjunction with the Pool. This reservoir is 360 feet long, 103 broad, and 75 deep, independently of the accumulated rubbish⁷.

t. The Ancient Masonry at the N. E. corner of the Haram exhibits indisputable traces of an angular tower, doubtless one of those which, according to Strabo⁸, defended the Wall of the Temple. This is noticed by Brocardus as remains of the Tower Ophel⁹; (which he translates *Nebulosa* or *Neblosa*, *dark*;) but as Ophel was

¹ H. C. Vol. II. pp. 300, 354.

² *Ib.* p. 352, n. 2.

³ *Ibid.* p. 325.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 394, n. 3; and p. 435.

⁵ *Ibid.* pp. 349, 353, n. 5.

⁶ *Ibid.* p. 325.

⁷ *Ibid.* pp. 314, 354.

⁸ Cited l. c. p. 353, n. 5.

⁹ In Canisii Thes. Tom. IV. pp. 18, 21. He considers this Ophel the same with Ananeel and Antonia. The identity of the two last I am not disposed to question, only it is certain that these massive remains cannot have belonged to them.

certainly South of the Temple, this is but another instance of the unfortunate guessing of that very unsuccessful antiquary¹⁰.

The next object worthy of remark in the Temple area is the *Golden Gate*, a highly-ornamented double gateway of Roman construction, doubtless the representative of the Gate Shushan¹¹, the eastern gate of the Temple, opening into the Porch of Solomon, as this cloister was called, from the fact of its being erected on the massive substructions and bank raised with incredible labour by that great King¹², from the depth of the valley. There is a small Saracenic portal, now blocked up (*u*), forty feet South of the Golden Gate, a late insertion of the Moslems¹³; but the lower part of this eastern wall exhibits along its whole length traces of that massive masonry which indicates an earlier date than the Saracenic conquest, and must here be ascribed to Hebrew masons, as there is no subsequent period to which they can be assigned. The same may be said of

¹⁰ A modern traveller, however, has published a theory even more absurd. It is Mr. Wilde, who suggests that the stairs leading up to the City-wall at this angle may be the very stairs from which S. Paul preached to the people, when having been rescued from the fury of the Jews he obtained permission to harangue them from the stairs of Antonia, (Acts xxi. 30—40). Wilde's Narrative of a Voyage, &c. Vol. II. p. 235. There is a still more egregious error of Mr. Wilde, which I must notice. Having occasion to mention (from Nehemiah iii. 7), "the house of the Governor on this side the river"—he shrewdly remarks, p. 241, "this was probably the governor appointed by

the Persian King over Jerusalem."—As if there could be any doubt on the point. But he adds, "some difficulty arises here regarding the river mentioned in the seventh verse, *none such now existing*." He then suggests the ditch round the City-wall, or the pools or "*stream-ways*" in or around the city—for the river in question! The Euphrates never occurred to him! Yet this writer is the great authority of my Reviewer in the Dublin University Magazine, (September 1845, pp. 269, &c.) and his testimony is to be received before all other.

¹¹ H. C. II. pp. 313 and 355—59.

¹² Ibid. pp. 320, 346.

¹³ Ibid. p. 315, and note 6.

the tower at the S. E. angle (*v*), standing on the brink of the valley which here inclines westward, with a declivity almost precipitous¹.

The present arrangement of the *Vaulted Substructions*² within this angle, supporting the platform of the Haram, I have assigned to the period of the erection of Justinian's Church of S. Mary³, now the Mosk el-Aksa; but as it would appear that the Tower of Temptation near the chambers of Solomon's palace, mentioned by the Bourdeaux Pilgrim in the time of Constantine, occupied this position⁴, it is probable that some public building did exist near here in Jewish times. Its materials were doubtless worked into the new erections of Justinian; for it is remarked by Dr Richardson that the piers which support the vaults appear more ancient than the arches themselves, and that the bevelled stones of which the piers are composed are disintegrated, as though they had been long exposed to the weather⁵, from which they have been protected since the construction of the vaulting. I believe, then, that here we have the remains of the Ophel or Ophla mentioned by Josephus in his description of the old wall⁶, evidently not far distant from its junction with the eastern cloister of the Temple. The lower part of this wall is still to be traced westward to the point where the modern City-wall is joined with that of the Haram⁷, though here again we have a Saracenic arch (*w*) of comparatively recent insertion, and a late Roman gateway with portals (*w*), which I likewise connect with Justinian's hospitals and other great works

¹ H. C. II. pp. 311, 316.

² Described ib. pp. 311, 12, 17.

³ Ibid. p. 374.

⁴ Ibid. pp. 366—68.

⁵ H. C. II. p. 311.

⁶ Bell Jud. v. v. 2; above, p. 72.

⁷ H. C. II. p. 319.

about the Church of S. Mary. The passage from this gateway led by an inclined plane, through three compartments of the vaults, to the upper Area⁸.

x. The Double Gateway opening into the vestibule and vaulted passage beneath *El-Aksa*⁹, I believe to be the substruction described by Procopius as supporting the Church of S. Mary; probably also the *stoa*, called Narthex, the vestibule, and propylæum of the same description, though the unusual disposition of these members of the building, perhaps not clearly understood by the writer himself, has occasioned some slight obscurity in his account.

In thus identifying the ancient remains at the South of the Haram with the buildings of Justinian, I am sorry to run counter to the deliberate judgment of my friend and coadjutor Professor Willis, who is disposed, from a remarkable coincidence of measures, to connect these vaults with the Royal Cloister of Herod the Great, and consequently to extend the Area of the Temple thus far South. The difficulties which I feel to the adoption of this hypothesis have been elsewhere stated¹⁰, and we must be content to submit the question, with all its difficulties, to the arbitration of the learned. The grounds of his conclusions are stated by himself in a note to this Memoir¹¹.

y. The ruined arch at the South-west angle, which is

⁸ H. C. 11. pp. 312, 318.

⁹ Ibid. pp. 309, 10, 18, 73.

¹⁰ Ibid. 401—3.

¹¹ I can sincerely say that I have tried to receive this view, which is that of all modern writers on the subject—of Drs Robinson and Schultz, of Krafft and the Reviewer in the *Neues Repertorium*. The difficulties, however, ap-

pear to me insurmountable. I may express my satisfaction that, among the complicated difficulties which involve the subject, this is the only material point of disagreement between my valued ally and myself—

. . . “hac in re scilicet una Multum dissimiles; ad cætera pæne gemelli; Fraternis animis, quicquid negat alter, et alter Annuimus pariter.”....

identified by Dr Robinson with the bridge mentioned by Josephus, I take to be a continuation of the substructions of Theodore, Justinian's architect; for the Moslems profess that the series of vaults run under the South part of the Haram, quite to the western wall¹. The Bridge I find in the still existing *Causeway* at *l*.

z. *The Jews' Wailing Place*, exhibits upwards of 100 feet of the West wall of the Haram, composed of massive bevelled masonry. This, in my view, was the western termination of the Royal Cloister of Herod².

v. *Wall of Circumvallation.*

BEFORE we dismiss Josephus, who has occupied us so long, we must endeavour to identify the points mentioned in the Wall of Circumvallation with which Titus encompassed the City, after he had taken Bezetha and the Lower City³. Beginning at his own encampment within the New City, at the Camp of the Assyrians, he drew the wall to the lower Cænopolis, thence through the Cedron to the Mount of Olives, then turning to the South he enclosed the mountain as far as the rock called Peristereon, and the neighbouring hill which overhangs the Valley at Siloam. Thence inclining to the West, it descended to the Valley of the Fountain. From which, ascending to the Monument of the High Priest Ananus, and including the mountain where Pompey had encamped, it turned to the North, and advancing as far as a village called the House of the Erebinthi, and then embracing the Monument of Herod, was joined towards the East to his own camp, whence it commenced.

Now here it is important to remark, that the his-

¹ H. C. Vol. II. pp. 320, 21, 387—
398.

² Ibid. pp. 321, 398, 400.

³ Bell. Jud. v. xii. 2.

torian does not describe the Wall of Circumvallation by the quarter to which it turned, as he did in the case of the city-walls⁴; and in this he is perhaps chargeable with inconsistency, though happily the variation in the form of expression involves no ambiguity.

The Camp of the Assyrians I have already fixed to the level space within the third wall, on the North of the Cave of Jeremiah. Its position is not indeed precisely determined by the historian, but the nature of the ground was suitable to the encampment, and the incidental notices of the history confirm this conjecture. Titus is said⁵ to have pitched within the City, at the Camp of the Assyrians, holding all the intermediate space as far as the Kedron, but was without the range of missiles discharged from the second wall. Now, when he was preparing to attack the outer wall, he had taken up a position two stadia distant from the Psephine Tower, and another division of his army was encamped at the same distance from the Hippic Tower⁶: so that an interval of two stadia may well be allowed between the second wall and Titus's Camp. The whole intermediate space between his Camp and the Kedron was occupied by his troops, and is called the Lower Bezetha, in the account of the Wall of Circumvallation; which wall probably ran through the North-east corner of the modern city (*Haret Bab el-Hitta*), and crossing the Kedron, turned South, and skirted the lower part of Mount Olivet. The

⁴ In describing the City-walls (v. iv. 2) we have *πρὸς δύσιν · πρὸς νότον ... ἐπιστρέφον · ἐκλίνον πρὸς ἀνατολήν* for the western, southern, and eastern walls respectively; whereas in xii. 2 the course of the wall is described as *ἀνακίπτων κατὰ μεσημβρίαν · ἐκκλί-*

νας πρὸς δύσιν · πρὸς κλίμα βόρειον ἐπέστρεφε · evidently meaning the eastern, southern, and western walls respectively. See above, p. 72.

⁵ Bell. Jud. v. vii. 3.

⁶ Ibid. v. iii. 5, ad fin.

Rock Peristereon I should like to identify with the precipitous cliff at the base of the southern part of Mount Olivet, perforated with sepulchral excavations, from which it might borrow the not inappropriate name of a Pigeon-house¹. Then the neighbouring hill overhanging the Valley at Siloam would be *the Mount of Offence*. The Valley of the Fountain, to which it descended after turning westward, is certainly the upper part of *Wady en-Nar*, from which it ascended again to the monument of the High Priest Ananus, the ancient rock-grave of *Aceldama*, as Dr Schultz conjectures, with great probability². The mountain where Pompey had encamped is not mentioned in any other part of the history, but must be the rocky knoll opposite to the South-west corner of Mount Sion. Here the wall turned North, and ran as far as the village called the House of the Erebinthi, which I agree with Dr Schultz in fixing at the ruined Arab village of *Abu Wa'ir*. Here, however, we part company; for I can imagine no object to be gained by the eccentric course which he assigns it from this point³. I would rather draw it in a direct line to its termination at the Camp of Titus on the East, though the mention of the Monument of Herod, which it enclosed, presents a formidable objection to my wishes. The Monuments of Herod we have already

¹ It was an ingenious suggestion of Dr Schultz that Josephus may have here translated the Latin word *Columbarium*, to describe the Tombs of the Prophets, (*Jerusalem*, p. 72). Dr Robinson thinks it "fanciful"—but I consider it probable; though I prefer the explanation in the text. Indeed, Dr Schultz in a private letter, while maintaining his former view, writes,

"The only thing I am doubtful about is whether that 'Columbarium' of Josephus might not be identified with the rock near the tombs of Absalom and Zachariah."

² *Jerusalem*, p. 72.

³ It seems to me that his Plan itself is sufficient to convict it of error, nor does the Memoir, p. 72, offer any explanation of this eccentricity.

encountered⁴ on the North front of the outer wall, identical, as I believe, with the *Tombs of the Kings*. If those monuments are the same with this monument, the wall was extended far beyond all reasonable limits, for no other apparent purpose than to add to the toil of the legions. I cannot then accept this theory, and I much wish that I could find some warrant for substituting the name of Alexander in this passage for that of Herod, and was at liberty to believe that the Cave of Jeremiah is intended⁵. Certain, at least, it is that the Wall of Circumvallation could not have extended so far North as the Wall of Agrippa; for the whole circuit of the former was only 39 stadia⁶, and as it had so wide a range on the East, South, and West, it is clear that unless it had been much contracted towards the North, it must have exceeded the length of the City-wall by more than six stadia. I presume that the three encampments of the Romans were not enclosed within the wall, the object of which was to blockade the City, so as to preclude the possibility of escape.

Having thus disposed of the walls, it must be distinctly stated that their course as dotted in on the Plan pretends to no minute accuracy, and on this account we have abstained from giving it any architectural character, and have not attempted the insertion of the towers. We have followed such indications as still exist, and where these fail, have roughly traced out such a course as, after very mature consideration, appears most probable. The grounds of my conclusions have been stated, I trust, with sufficient perspicuity, and with a diffidence becoming a subject so extremely obscure.

⁴ See above, pp. 90, 91.

v. vii. 3.

⁵ H. C. II. p. 516. Vid. Bell. Jud.

⁶ Bell. Jud. v. xii. 2.

VIII. TOPOGRAPHY OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

THE topographical notices in the New Testament are very few and indistinct, since, for the most part, they imply in the writers, and assume in the readers of the Sacred Narrative, a local knowledge which rendered periphrasis unnecessary. The most important point, beyond all comparison, is that connected with the authenticity of the Holy Sepulchre, concerning which so much has of late been written. I cannot here undertake even to recapitulate the arguments for the conclusion at which I have arrived¹. I will merely say, that the incidental notices of this part of the City by Josephus convince me that the site now occupied by the Church of the Holy Sepulchre was without the second wall;—that there was here a considerable interval between that wall and the Wall of Agrippa, added about ten years after the events of which that Church is the monument;—that this interval was comparatively unobstructed by buildings, so that it allowed a camping-place for soldiers, and afforded easy access to the North wall of the Upper City;—that sepulchral monuments—one of the High Priest John in particular, and probably those of other distinguished individuals—did occupy this space;—and that such monuments were situated in gardens, as we gather from the fact of the Garden-gate (Gennath) opening upon this tract. These remarkable coincidences, with a tradition that can be traced back to the time of Hadrian, when the first generation from the Apostles was still in being, do not allow me to doubt the authenticity of the site, nor do I

¹ The whole question is fully examined in the 1st and 2nd Chapters of the Second Part and Volume of the Holy City.

believe that it would ever have been called in question, but for the disgust engendered by the incrustation of legendary and fictitious sites that have accumulated around the nucleus of truth. The Hebrew name *Golgotha*, and its Greek equivalent *Calvary*, which would doubtless continue current in the mouths of the Jews and Greeks, as designating this locality, was not an inappropriate name for the rocky promontory that runs in from the N. W. of the City, on whose declivity the Church is situated ².

The Pool of Bethesda³ is said to have been situated at the Sheep-gate, and as we shall presently find that this Gate was to the North of the Temple, we may well believe that the large tank, called *Birket Israïl*, did supply that House of Effusion, although it must be conceded that the ecclesiastical tradition, fickle and inconsistent in this as in other cases, formerly assigned this honour to the large tank in its vicinity, which has now disappeared ⁴.

The Tower of Siloam⁵ I should be glad to identify with the large tower whose massive ruins I have so often noticed at the South-east angle of the Haram: but I fear this is too far from the Pool of that name, which is certainly the scene of the miracle recorded by

² This explanation suggests itself to me as far more satisfactory than any I have seen. The most generally received in ancient times was that Adam's Skull was buried here—(see the citations and references in Reland, p. 860); in modern times, a place of public execution (*capital* punishment) or sepulture. But what more natural than that the ancients should describe this feature as modern writers do? See Drs

Schultz and Robinson. H. C. Vol. II. pp. 25, 33. The use of the modern Arabic name for a cape or promontory, *Ras* (answering to the Hebrew *Gulgo-leth*, in Judg. ix. 53, &c. and exactly equivalent to the Italian *Capo*) is not confined to the sea-coast.

³ S. John v. 2.

⁴ H. C. Vol. II. pp. 38, 9; 435.

⁵ S. Luke xiii. 4.

S. John¹: only that the large Pool, now filled up and cultivated as a garden (57), was then in use.

The Judgment Hall of Pilate was doubtless in the Castle Antonia, whose site has been determined. The Palace of Herod has been assigned by a recent tradition to the highest point of Acra, to the North-west of the Haram (40), where a Mosk of Derwishes exhibits distinct traces of a Christian Church. If any Palace stood on this site in ancient Jerusalem, it must have been that occupied by Helena, Queen of Adiabene, in the middle of Acra proper²: and it is possible that it may have been previously the residence of Herod Antipas during his periodical visits to Jerusalem.

It is, however, more reasonable to suppose that he occupied either the Upper Palace of his father on the N.W. angle of Sion, or the old Palace of the Asmoneans at the Causeway, afterwards inhabited by his nephew Herod Agrippa. We have mention of Solomon's Porch in connexion with the Temple³, but nothing sufficiently definite to enable us to test the accuracy of the former conclusion. The Beautiful Gate⁴ was probably the Great Gate of Corinthian brass leading from the Court of the Women into the Court of Israel, of which Josephus speaks in terms of admiration.

Mount Olivet is not to be mistaken, and its sacred localities and associations may be left to the undisturbed enjoyment of the devout pilgrim, for there is nothing in the Scripture Narrative inconsistent with them—Gethsemane at its western base close to the brook Kedron, the Place of the Ascension on its centre summit, the Village of Bethany on its eastern slope.

¹ Ch. ix. 7. ² Bell. Jud. v. i. vi. 3. ³ John x. 23. Acts iii. 11 ; v. 12. ⁴ Acts iii. 2.

IX. THE WALLS OF NEHEMIAH.

By far the most copious source of information concerning the topography of ancient Jerusalem, contained in the Holy Scriptures, is found in the account of the restoration of the City-walls after the Babylonish Captivity; and it is the more important and interesting as coming from the inspired pen of the religious Governor, through whose agency that restoration was effected. We have the circuit of the Walls described no fewer than three times in the book of Nehemiah⁵; first, in his nocturnal survey preparatory to their restoration; secondly, in his narrative of the rebuilding; and thirdly, in his account of their dedication. Of these three descriptions the first is very brief; the second enters, as was natural, most into detail; and the last is more full than the first, but more brief than the second. In all, even the shortest, some points are noticed which are found in neither of the others, as *e.g.* “the Dragon-well,” and “the King’s Pool,” in the first; “the Gate of Ephraim” in the third; and many gates and houses in the second, which need not be here enumerated, as they will presently come under notice. Most of the places indicated are not elsewhere mentioned; and it were a vain endeavour to reconstruct the walls from these notices, although the task has been sometimes attempted with doubtful success. It must be considered, too, that any estimate of the length of the wall, or of the interval between any two points, founded on the names of those employed in the building, must be wholly fallacious, as it would depend on the state of ruin of the wall, and the

⁵ Ibid. Chap. ii. 13—15, iii. throughout; xii. 37—39.

number of the party—which would vary throughout. Having premised thus much, I proceed to identify such few points in the course of the walls of Nehemiah, as I have been able to determine to my own satisfaction, availing myself of such light as I can borrow from the earlier books of the Old Testament. It will be borne in mind that we are now only concerned with the first and second wall of Josephus, comprehending the Upper and Lower City, and the Temple.

The points mentioned in the Survey of the Wall are the following. Emerging by the Valley-gate, Nehemiah passes before the Dragon-Fountain to the Dung-gate, the Gate of the Fountain, and the King's Pool; then up the Brook, and re-enters by the Valley-gate.

In the rebuilding of the wall the continuity of the description is implied by the constantly-recurring expression “after him¹,” and we are not at liberty to devise a new starting point except where this copulation is omitted, probably not without design. Commencing then with the Sheep-gate, we have the Towers of Meah and Hananeel, the Fish-gate, the Old Gate, the Throne of the Governor, the Broad Wall, the Tower of the Furnaces².

Let us endeavour to fix some of these points, before we proceed further.

The description starts with “the Sheep-gate,” to which it is also brought back at the conclusion³. In the account of the dedication of the walls we have mention of the Gate of Ephraim, between the Broad Wall and the Old Gate⁴, but no mention of the Throne

¹ אַחֲרָיו, עַל-יָדָם, עַל-יָדָיו and
the like, passim.

² Neh. iii. 1—12. ³ Ibid. ver. 32.

⁴ Chap. xii. 38, 39.

of the Governor" placed between the same two points in the former description⁵. From the Old Gate the Procession passes "above the Fish-gate and the Tower of Hananeel, and the Tower of Meah, even unto the Sheep-gate:" all which points were mentioned in the reverse order in the former Chapter.

Now "the Fish-gate" is elsewhere mentioned several times. In the history of Manasseh⁶ (B. C. *cir.* 679) it is said that "he built a wall without the City of David, on the West side of Gihon in the Valley, even to the entering in at the Fish-gate," and this "Fish-gate" is in juxtaposition with "the second" in Zephaniah⁷, (B. C. *cir.* 639); by which "second" must be understood, I apprehend, that part of Jerusalem which was inhabited by Huldah the Prophetess⁸, and of which Judah the son of Senuah was governor⁹. And I have no doubt that this is the part of the City which was fortified with "another (or second) wall," by Hezekiah when preparing against the Assyrian invasion¹⁰, (B. C. *cir.* 713); and that the broken wall which he built up, and raised up to the towers, was that 400 cubits of wall broken down by

⁵ This seems to countenance the notion of Aben Ezra, and other commentators, that the words so rendered are the proper name and office of one of the builders; or of Houbigant, that they are a definition of the Mizpah just mentioned. Barrett's Synopsis in Neh. iii. 7. Vol. III. p. 401.

⁶ 2 Chron. xxxiii. 14. Dr. Schultz also takes the same view. Jerusalem, p. 86. The valley is בְּחַל.

⁷ מִשְׁעַר הַדְּגִים... מִן-הַפִּשְׁגָּה Zeph. i. 10.

⁸ 2 Chron. xxxiv. 22. בְּמִשְׁנָה

Comp. 2 Kings xxii. 14.

⁹ Neh. xi 9. עַל הָעִיר מִשְׁנָה not, "was second over the city," as in the Eng. Vers., but "was over the second part of the city," as Gesenius understands it; or Dr. Lee—"A division of Jerusalem so called." Barrett's Synopsis in 2 Kings xxii. 14. Vol. II. p. 990.

¹⁰ 2 Chron. xxxii. 5. הַחוֹמָה אֲחֵרָה. Dr. Schultz also says that this "other wall" may certainly be referred to the second wall. Jerusalem, p. 83.

Joash, King of Israel¹, (B. C. *cir.* 826,) "from the Gate of Ephraim to the Corner Gate," at which Corner Gate, as also at "the Valley Gate," and at "the turning of the wall," Uzziah had erected towers in the interval², (B. C. *cir.* 800,) but had apparently allowed the wall to continue in ruins.

In all these passages I presume reference to be made to the Lower City of Josephus, and to the Second Wall of his description. His Tyropœon will then be the Gihon, on whose West side Manasseh built the Wall in the Valley; and this will be identical with "Millo, the City of David," repaired by Hezekiah, the same with Parbar or the Suburbs³.

With respect to other points, I would suggest that "the Corner Gate" was so named from the angle at the junction of the first and second walls, where the head of a Roman Gateway still remains (*f*); and that "the Tower of the Furnaces" was the tower built by Uzziah at that Corner Gate. "The Gate of Ephraim" would then be 400 cubits to the North of this⁴, not far from the *Porta Judiciaria* (*p*); and the "broad wall" between the two might be the part strengthened with a second wall by Hezekiah. The "Old Gate" would then be in the same West Wall, between the Gate of Ephraim and the Fish-gate, which last corresponded perhaps in position with the present *Damascus Gate*.

¹ 2 Kings xiv. 13. Perhaps the same which Manasseh rebuilt, after it had been again reduced to ruin, in the Assyrian invasion, which ended in his deportation to Babylon. 2 Chron. xxxiii. 11.

² 2 Chron. xxvi. 9.

³ See more fully H. C. Vol. II. pp.

44—48, and notes.

⁴ I was formerly disposed to take the Gate of Ephraim for the present Damascus Gate, as Dr. Robinson also does, Bib. Res. I. p. 473. Biblioth. Sac. I. 191, 2. But this seems to involve serious difficulties.

"The Sheep-gate," repaired by the priests, I take to be the North Gate of the Temple, corresponding to *Babel-Hitta*; and the "Towers of Meah and Hananeel" may have afterwards formed part of the Tower Antonia⁵. But I would rather place the tower of Hananeel at the N.E. angle, because it is used both by Jeremiah⁶ and Zechariah⁷ to designate one extremity of the City.

The most difficult part of the description appears to me to be that contained in the 13th and 14th verses, where we have mention of "the Valley-gate" and "the Dung-gate," with an interval of a thousand cubits of wall between them. The two gates occur in the Survey of Nehemiah; for he went out by the Valley-gate⁸, and passing before the Dragon-Fountain⁹, came to the Dung-gate¹⁰. In that account, too, as in this, and in the line followed by the first procession, the Gate of the Fountain is mentioned next to the Dung-gate,

⁵ See H. C. Vol. i. p. 76.

⁶ xxxi. 33. "From the tower of Hananeel unto the gate of the corner," would thus describe the whole of the north and west wall of the Lower City.

⁷ xiv. 10. "From the tower of Hananeel unto the king's wine-presses:" As the king's wine-presses were probably at the king's gardens, below Siloam, this would describe the east side of the city.

⁸ Chap. ii. 13, 15, שַׁעַר הַנִּיָּא שַׁעַר הַנִּיָּא. This gate is mentioned also in 2 Chron. xxvi. 9, as one of those at which Uziah built a tower. It must, I think, be a gate leading into the Valley of the Kedron; and is generally so understood. It is, however, important to remark that the Kedron is always in Scripture נַחַל "a brook;"

so that the brook in Nehemiah ii. 14. ought to be the Kedron. On the other hand, the Valley of Hinnom is always גֵּיאָ The LXX. have represented this as πύλη τοῦ γωληλά, reading (in v. 13) גֵּיאָ (valley), and לַיְלָה (by night), as one word. In v. 15 they have rightly πύλη τῆς φάραγγος.

⁹ אֶל-פְּנֵי עֵין הַתֵּנִין not "dragon-well," as our version has it, but fountain. The LXX. give this πρὸς στόμα πηγῆς τῶν συκῶν, reading תַּנִּינִים figs. Gesenius reads תַּנִּינִים, and renders it "fountain of jackals."

¹⁰ שַׁעַר הָאֵשְׁפֶת, πύλην τῆς κοπρίας. This Esquiline Gate is mentioned by Nehemiah ii. 13, and iii. 13, 14; xii. 31; and nowhere else.

which would lead me to believe that they were not far distant, and on the same line of wall; indeed, the last passage clearly implies a continuity of the wall between them. But the position of the Valley-gate, and the Dung-gate, with the wall between them, is so obscure, though their distance is the only definite measure given in the whole description, that it will be better to follow so much of the wall as can be identified with tolerable certainty, before attempting to lay down these gates and the intermediate wall.

Commencing with "the Gate of the Fountain," the first or old wall may be traced round the Upper City, to its junction with the second wall. The Fountain-gate being mentioned in immediate connexion with "the wall of the *Pool of Siloah*, by the *king's garden*¹," gives us a sufficiently definite starting-point, and reflects considerable light on other topographical notices of the Old Testament; for this Gate must, I think, necessarily be identical with that by which Zedekiah attempted to effect his escape from the Chaldeans: for he fled by night "by the way of the king's garden, by the gate betwixt the two walls²;" and this last expression enables us to identify "the Pool of Siloah" with the Pool which Hezekiah made for the waters of the Upper Gihon, "between the two walls³."

As I have before stated that the great steepness of Mount Sion above the Pool of Siloam presents a difficulty to the direct course of the old wall as indicated by Josephus, I am glad to find notice here of "the stairs that go down from the city of David;" implying

¹ Nehem. iii. 15.

² 2 Kings xxv. 4. Jerem. xxxix. 4. iii. 7.

³ Isaiah xxii. 11; compare 2 Chron. xxxii. 3—5. This is more fully investigated in H. C. II. pp. 473—478.

a steep declivity to the Pool in question; by which stairs the procession went up in their passage round the walls⁴.

"The Sepulchres of David" are next named in connexion with the "Pool that was made," and "the house of the mighty;" and here we have no difficulty in recognising *En-Nebi Daúd*, and *Birket es-Sultan*⁵; while the Giants' House, probably the site of the strong fortress of the ancient Jebusites, occupied the S.W. angle of Mount Sion, and the scarped rock at the *Hammam Tabariyeh* may possibly be their work. "The armoury at the turning" will very well suit the position of the *Hippic Tower* at the N.W. angle of Sion, and was, I doubt not, the tower that Uziah had built, "at the turning of the wall⁶," subsequently developed by Herod, and called by a new name.

Hence, following the course of the North Wall of Sion, and passing the house of Eliashib the high-priest, we come to another "turning, even unto the corner," either the junction of the second wall, or, perhaps, more probably the N.E. angle of Mount Sion; for, not far distant, was "the tower that lieth out from the king's high house, that was by the court of the prison;" which

⁴ See above p. 78, and Nehem. iii. 15; xii. 37.

⁵ H. C. ii. p. 505. Dr. Schultz (Jerusalem, pp. 84, 91, and Plan,) and Herr Krafft (Topographie, p. 152, and Plan) consider Asuya in חִבְרָהּ a proper name. Both regard it as Hezekiah's Pool, the former as identical with the Lower Pool and the present Sultan's Pool. Krafft places it in the southern part of the

Tyropæon, where are no traces of a Pool, nor a tradition of one.

⁶ 2 Chron. xxvi. 9, where מִקְצֵעַ הַמִּנְּגֵל answers to מִנְּגֵל עַל־הַנֶּשֶׁק הַמִּקְצֵעַ in Nehem. iii. 19, translated by Houbigant, "e regione clivi, armamentarii ad angulum." Here is now the arsenal or armoury of modern Jerusalem.

high house I take to be identical in situation with the palace of Joash before the Captivity,¹ and with the palace of the Asmoneans in after times².

"The court of the prison in the king's house of Judah," in which the prophet Jeremiah was confined³, is evidently the same with this in Nehemiah; and since "the stocks⁴ that were in the high gate of Benjamin, which was by the house of the Lord," were probably connected with this prison, I think that we may assume the identity of that high Gate with the "third (or principal) entry that is in the House of the Lord⁵," where King Zedekiah conferred with the captive Prophet: which gate, I believe, to be called Miphkad by Nehemiah⁶, the Shallecheth of more ancient times, the *Bab es-Salsala* (the Gate of the Chain) of the modern Haram; a sufficiently appropriate synonym for the Prison-gate, and another remarkable instance of happy coincidence, probably not accidental.

Thus, then, if I have been successful in my attempts to follow the course of the walls as marked out by Nehemiah, we have made the entire circuit of the second wall, encompassing the Lower City, from the North of the Temple to its junction with the North wall of Sion, near the Gate Gennath; and of the first or old

¹ 2 Kings xii. 20. "The house of Millo at the going down of Silla." See H. C. Vol. I. p. 24, note 1; II. p. 603.

² Ant. xx. vii. 11. See H. C. II. pp. 294—5, and notes. Here it was that Simon erected a tower in his conflict with John. Bell. Jud. vi. viii. 1.

³ Jeremiah xxxii. 2: different from the dungeon in the house of Jonathan the scribe, to which he was consigned

by the princes (xxxvii. 15), and from which he was rescued by Ebed-Melech, xxxviii. 6—13, when he was sent back to the king's prison.

⁴ Jeremiah xx. 2, **הַמִּפְקָד**
Compare xxix. 26. Here also Asa confined Hanani the seer, 2 Chron. xvi. 10.

⁵ Jer. xxxviii. 14.

⁶ Ibid. iii. 31. See below, p. 121, n. 13.

wall encompassing the Upper City, from the Pool of Siloam, to the Causeway at the N.E. angle.

Here then we approach the Temple-area, and I think it is clear that the further description of the building has reference to the courts of the Temple or its immediate neighbourhood. But before proceeding to this I must endeavour to fill up the gap between Siloam and the Temple. This I purpose to do with the 1000 cubits of wall between the Valley-gate and the Dung-gate, to which I could assign no place before. And even now I have some misgivings, because I could rather believe that the Valley-gate led into the Valley of Hinnom than into the Kedron⁷. But I see no escape from the conclusion at which I have arrived, and much in its favour; for it gives a very natural order to the narrative, if we believe that, having commenced from the north of the Temple, and brought the second wall round to its point of junction with the first, it should then commence the description of the first wall from the south of the Temple. The relative positions of the two Gates here mentioned, with the King's Pool, as indicated in the account of the nocturnal survey⁸, falls in with this view, which further supplies us with a Dragon-Fountain, and enables us to explain the name of the Dung-gate. For if we suppose the Governor to have gone out at a gate somewhere on the south of the present Haram, and to have descended into the Valley of the Kedron, he would soon pass before *the Fountain of the Virgin*; and it is a curious coincidence mentioned by Dr. Schultz in confirmation of this hypothesis, that the rise and fall of the water in this intermitting spring

⁷ For reasons already stated in p. 115, note 3.

⁸ This has been pointed out above, p. 112.

is popularly ascribed to a dragon that lies concealed in it¹. I am glad also to account for the Esquiline Gate by its proximity to the ancient sewer², above *the Fountain of the Virgin*, through which the offal from the temple flowed into the Kedron³. Then the *Pool of Siloam*, here called the “King’s Pool⁴,” follows in its proper order. Perhaps the Nakhal, or Brook, here mentioned, is not the Kedron usually so called, but that noticed under the same denomination in connexion with the works of Manasseh, *i. e.* the *Tyropæon*⁵.

To return now to the walls. I presume the part repaired by the Nethinims and the Tekoites was the remainder of the first or old wall, between the Valley-gate and its junction with the wall of the Temple. “The Water-gate” was not on this line of wall, but was one of the Temple-gates⁶, opposite to which the Nethinims were employed; and “the tower that lieth out” is not the one before named in connexion with the “king’s high house⁷,” but that whose massive remains we have

¹ Jerusalem, p. 90.

² In this also Dr. Schultz coincides; and it may add some weight to the agreement if I state that when I first saw Dr. Schultz’s theory concerning this part of the wall, I rejected it utterly, and that when it had entirely escaped my memory I worked it out for myself independently, as in the text.

³ See above p. 95. Another ancient sewer is noticed by Dr. Robinson in the Valley of the Tyropæon, but nothing is certainly known of it. Bib. Res. i. pp. 390, 91. Can this be the drain marked in the Officers’ Plan?

⁴ Either from Hezekiah, who built the Pool (See H. C. ii. p. 484), or from Solomon, who was anointed at the foun-

tain—then called Gihon. 1 Kings i. 33.

⁵ Above, p. 113, and 2 Chron. xxxiii. 14.

⁶ One of the Southern Gates, apparently the easternmost of the inner temple, was so called, because by it the water of Siloam was brought in to be poured on the sacrifices on the last day of the feast of tabernacles, (see John vii. 37). Middoth, cap. ii. sect. vi. Mishna, Tom. v. p. 345. Conf. Shekilim, cap. vi. sect. iii. Tom. ii. pp. 195, 6. And see Lightfoot, Prospect, &c. chap. xxiv. Vol. ix. p. 351. A comparison of Nehemiah iii. 26, with xii. 37, 40, will shew that the Water-gate was a gate of the Temple.

⁷ Verse 25.

before had occasion to notice at the south-east angle of the Haram⁸. The wall of Ophel was just south of the Temple, as Josephus also implies⁹, and the Horse-gate I apprehend was contiguous to its south-east extremity, opening upon the Valley of the Kedron, as the same historian also intimates¹⁰. And it is another curious coincidence that the Hippodrome was south of the Temple¹¹, and that tradition has preserved among the vaults at the south of the Haram a memorial of the Stables of Solomon¹².

As the parts repaired by the priests are designated only by their own houses and chambers, all that can be concluded with certainty is that the description belongs to the Temple. The work of the goldsmiths and merchants was also, I apprehend, confined to the sacred enclosure. The gate Miphkad, which I have already identified with the Prison-gate¹³, is here connected with the going up of the corner¹⁴, *i. e.* the causeway near the south-west angle of the Temple communicating with the north-east angle of Sion, from which point the wall was continued along the west and north of the enclosure, until it came to the Sheep-gate.

⁸ See above, p. 82, and references.

⁹ As cited above, p. 72.

¹⁰ In his account of the death of Athaliah, he paraphrases the Scripture narrative (2 Kings xi. 15, 16) thus: "Joadus, calling the captains, ordered them to bring Gotholia to the Valley of the Kedron, and there to slay her... Therefore they led her to the Gate of the King's mules, and there killed her."

¹¹ Vid. Ant. ix.vii. 3. Bell. Jud. ii. iii. l. H. C. i. p. 127.

¹² H. C. ii. p. 311.

¹³ For the various explanations of

this name, see Barrett's Synopsis in Nehem. iii. 31. "The house of correction" is taken by some, and its identity with the Prison-gate of xii. 39, is suggested by Villalpandus. Others take it to mean "porta judicii" s. "præcepti" (as in 2 Chron. xxxi. 13); others "lustrationis" s. "censûs." In any of these last senses it would very well suit the *βουλευτήριον* or Mehkemeh—the office of the Cadi or Judge—at the Causeway.

¹⁴ See H. C. Vol. ii. p. 606.

Such is my view of the topographical notices of Nehemiah. How far it may serve to elucidate this extremely difficult subject, it is for others to decide. But I can truly say that I have spared no pains and diligence in the investigation, and that, after most mature deliberation, it appears to me the only theory that is consistent with the nature of the ground, with the description of Josephus, and with the incidental allusions in other parts of the Sacred Books.

I believe that in illustrating this account of the Walls of Nehemiah, I have exhausted nearly all the topographical notices of the Old Testament; but I would here make a few remarks on the Fuller's Field and Gihon.

Dr. Schultz identifies the Fuller's Field with the *Turbet Mamillah*, and places the Camp of the Assyrians on the brow of the high ridge within the N. W. corner of the modern City, now occupied by the *Latin Convent*; and consistently with this he takes the *Birket Mamillah* for "the Upper Pool," and the rude aqueduct for "the conduit¹." He finds warrant for this in the probable line of march of the detachment of Sennacherib's army, under Tartan, Rabсарis, and Rabshakeh²; for as the main force now lay at Lachish, South-west from Jerusalem, near Beit-Jebrin, he thinks that these generals must have approached Jerusalem by Wady el-Werd, and that the place indicated by him would be most convenient for their camp.

I do not think that much weight can be attached to this argument, because as no opposition was offered to the invaders, they had leisure to select a camping ground,

¹ Jerusalem, pp. 63, 82, 84, 5.

² 2 Kings xviii. 17, and Isaiah xxxvi. 2.

and it seems to me that the narrow ridge in question is much too confined for the "great host" commanded by those three captains. Besides which, an earlier notice of the same localities³ points more clearly to another quarter. For the conjecture of Dr Schultz is probably well founded, that Isaiah was sent to encourage Ahaz when he had advanced with his army before the walls, to oppose the approaching enemy. But the confederate armies of Syria and Israel were to be expected from the North; and on the North, I have no doubt, king Ahaz was encamped, on the ground subsequently occupied by the Assyrians, and again by the Romans.

Nor do I think that the disappearance of the Pool and Conduit are any objection to this view; for in the first place when Hezekiah⁴, in his preparations against the Assyrian invasion, had diverted the water and drained the Pool that existed in the days of Ahaz, the conduit would soon fall to decay: And again, the peculiar water of Siloam, still to be traced to the *Cotton Grotto* without the *Damascus Gate*, which grotto local tradition connects by an aqueduct with the *Haram* in one direction and with the *Cave of Jeremiah* in the other, so clearly directs us to the North of the City for the upper outflow of Gihon, or the Upper Pool, and for the commencement of the Conduit of Hezekiah, the murmur of whose water is still to be heard, that I cannot but fix the Camp of the Assyrians on the North of the City, and connect the Fuller's Field of the Scriptures with the Fuller's Monument mentioned by Josephus at the North-east angle of the New City. Here is a large

³ Isaiah vii. 3.

⁴ I have discussed this subject at length in H. C. II, pp. 470—478.

level space well suited for an encampment, at the proper distance from the second wall¹.

I have, consistently with Jewish² and early Christian³ tradition, identified Gihon with *Siloam*, but I cannot venture to say whether it was here, or at "the upper outflow," that Solomon was anointed⁴, or not at any fountain at all, but simply in some part of the Valley of the Tyropœon, anciently called Gihon⁵, from which it is probable that the fountains derived their name. The scene of Adonijah's conspiracy is to be found in the small plain around the *Well of Job*⁶, which still perpetuates the name of one of the chief conspirators in its synonym "Joab." The shouts of the rejoicing multitude borne down the Valley gave intimation to the conspirators of the coronation of Solomon. The name of Gihon has gradually shifted⁷ from this Valley to the high ridge on the North-west of the City, and this transference has given occasion, as usual, to many errors.

¹ Bell. Jud. v. vii. 3. It seems to me that the mention of the Kedron here leaves no doubt of the matter. I cannot extend the Encampment, as Dr. Schultz must do, from the Latin Convent to the Kedron. See above, p. 105.

² The Chaldee paraphrase in 1 Kings i. 33, 38, 45, and 2 Chron. xxxiii. 14, renders Gihon by Siloam: conversely, in the Mishna, Siloam is called Gihon. See further in Lightfoot, Chorograph. Cent. Chap. xxv. Vol. x. p. 54, &c. and Chorograph. Inq. Chap. v. sect. ii. p. 344. He maintains that the שלח of Isaiah viii. 6 is not the same with the שלח of Nehem. iii. 15; but this is a mere fancy. Ibid. sect. iii. p. 345.

³ See Theodore as cited by Reland, Palæst. p. 859.

⁴ 2 Chron. xxxiii.

⁵ See above, pp. 113, 114.

⁶ 1 Kings i. 9, &c. See Holy City, ii. pp. 490, 91.

⁷ See H. C. Vol. II. p. 25, n. 4, and p. 489. We find it on its way in Felix Fabri, (A. D. 1480), when the *Hill of Evil Counsel* was so called. See Evagat. Tom. i. p. 422. So Baumgarten (A. D. 1507, 8,) Perig. Lib. II. cap. v. p. 81. Furer (A. D. 1566) first describes the ridge on the Jaffa Road as Mons Gihon, p. 50, but in p. 89 he is evidently describing the Sepulchral Caverns on the Hill of Evil Counsel, which he here calls Gihon. Itinerarium, Norimb. 1621.

NOTES.

NOTE A.

By PROFESSOR WILLIS.

THE object of the present Note is to point out some remarkable coincidences (already alluded to in p. 103) between the disposition and measurements of the "Vaulted Substructions," (the piers of which are shewn in the "Detailed Plan of the Temple Area" at the South-eastern angle,) and those of the Basilican Stoa of Herod, which Josephus describes as having occupied the Southern side of the Area.

The construction of the Vaults is similar to that of many Roman Buildings, as, for example, the Piscina Mirabile at Baia. Parallel wagon vaults, lying North and South, rest on arcades, the arches of which spring from the piers, shewn in the Plan.

The coincidences are the following: First, the width of the central aisle of the Basilican Stoa is stated by Josephus to have been 45 feet, and the width of each lateral one 30 feet. Now the piers of the present substructions are shewn in Mr. Catherwood's Plan to be as nearly as possible 15 feet asunder from centre to centre in the North and South directions, so that the distances correspond exactly, if we suppose the columns of the stoa to have been placed above the second rank, the fifth rank, and the seventh rank, of these piers.

Again, reckoning from East to West, the coincidence between the number of pillars of the stoa and the spacing of the present structures is scarcely less remarkable, as I shall proceed to shew.

In the first place, it is pretty evident that the substructions which have been explored and planned by Mr. Catherwood at the South-eastern corner, do in reality extend completely along the southern boundary, so as to support the Mosk Abu Bekr and the southern part of the Mosk El-Aksa.

The distribution of the piers in these two buildings also shews that, as might be expected, they stand very nearly over the piers of these hidden substructions; for their mean distances, measured in the East and West directions, are the same as the mean distances of the piers in the substructions at the South-east angle. Thus we may ascertain the number of spaces or alleys into which the entire range of substruction is divided, for the Mosk of Abu Bekr occupies ten, and the Mosk El-Aksa eight, (reckoning two for its central alley). The space between El-Aksa and the eastern substructions appear to occupy seven, and, finally, the latter substructions themselves sixteen, making in all forty-one. Now the south-side of the area is 890 feet according to the Ordnance Survey, whence subtracting 24 feet for the thickness of the

walls at each end, and dividing the remainder by 41, we get about 21 feet for the mean breadth of each alley, (measured from centre to centre of the piers).

But Mr. Catherwood's Survey, (Robinson's Palestine, Vol. I. p. 449, Bartlett's Walks, p. 165, and Fergusson's Jerusalem, Pl. 5,) assigns about 320 feet for the length of the sixteen alleys of the substruction which he examined: this gives 20 feet for the mean breadth of each alley, a sufficiently close coincidence for our purpose. However, I am inclined to suspect that this measure is too small; for the Ordnance surveyors place the arches of the triple gateway, which now terminates these substructions westward, twelve or fourteen feet further to the West than Mr. Catherwood, which would make the coincidence of measures in the breadth of the alleys more close. The position assigned in the Ordnance Survey to the centres of these arches is shewn in our "Detailed Plan" by the three marks at *w*; and it will be seen that these marks lie more westward than the extreme passages in Mr. Catherwood's Survey of the substruction, which is laid down upon the same Plan in outline. It is clear from this Plan, that the breadth of these alleys varies systematically, probably in accordance with the distribution of the buildings above, which they were intended to support, and which I believe to have been the Basilican Stoa of Herod. It cannot be supposed that a building of such enormous extent could have been designed without considerable variations in the distribution of the columns and piers in its different parts.

But to return to the forty-one alleys into which I have endeavoured to shew that the substructions are divided. Josephus describes the stoa as having 162 columns disposed in four rows, which gives forty columns in each row and two to spare. This appears to me to be so singular a coincidence with the forty-one spaces, that, added to the coincidence of the transverse measures already mentioned, can hardly be accidental, and at least gives great support to the opinion that the Basilican Stoa was erected on this site, and the entire substruction originally constructed expressly for its reception. The two spare columns may be disposed of in various ways; for, as I said before, the building could not have been so simple as Josephus' description would lead us to suppose at first sight. Many square piers were probably introduced which would not be mentioned. Again, I think it likely that the clerestory of the structure did not extend from end to end; but that it stopped short of the extremities, and that the side-aisles passed round them, in conformity with the usual form of the ancient Basilica. The wide alleys (at *u* in the Detailed Plan), may indicate the place where the side-aisles thus passed round. The small scale of our Plan has made it impossible to distinguish accurately the variations in width of the alleys of the substructions, but in Mr. Catherwood's Plan (Robinson, p. 449, &c.) two wide alleys are shewn, of which the one opposite to *u* is 30 feet wide, exactly the same as the

side-aisles, and the one next to it Eastward is 21 feet wide, while the remaining four to the East are only 15 feet 6 inches. Those which lie to the West of the wide ones I suppose to have belonged to the clerestorial part of this structure, and their intercolumniation is between 20 and 21 feet, and therefore wider than that of the four alleys which lie next to the eastern boundary. This last was the part of the building against which the eastern stoa of the area abutted, and would probably be treated as a distinct mass, with some variation of dimensions. According to this view the clerestory would terminate about 130 feet short of each extremity, and would thus occupy a length of 630 feet. This happens to be very near to the stadium (606 ft. 9 in. English), which Josephus assigns as the length of the entire structure. However, I am quite aware that difficulties attend upon this view, as, indeed, upon every attempt to construct plans of a building from descriptions alone.

The distribution of the alleys of the substruction into forty-one, is confirmed by the position of the gateways. The triple gateway at *w* occupies the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth alleys from the East. The double gateway at *x* occupies in like manner the fifteenth and sixteenth alleys from the West; and the symmetry of this arrangement makes it probable that these gateways are on the sites of the two southern gates mentioned by Josephus, although the western one has been manifestly altered by Justinian.

The greatest difficulty in the whole question is in the statement of Josephus (De Bell. l. v. c. v.) that the circumference of the Temple-area was six stadia, including Antonia; whereas the present area has a circumference of between eight and nine stadia, taking the stadium at the length usually assigned to it of 606 feet 9 inches English, and as I have laid it down beneath the Detailed Plan. At least, therefore, the measurement given by Josephus is an exceedingly loose estimation. But, by comparing this statement with another in the Antiquities (l. xv. c. xi. 3), to the effect that the enclosure of the Temple-area was four stadia, it has been inferred that the difference between the two is due to Antonia, which, therefore, must have occupied an area equal to that of the Temple. This conclusion I am compelled to differ from. The four-stadium circumference I believe to apply to the Temple enclosure as it was left by Solomon, for the measurement in question is given at the conclusion of a description of Solomon's work, and the same author tells us in another place (De Bell. l. i. c. cxi.), that Herod, when he restored the Temple, enlarged the area at an enormous expense, so as to enclose a space twice as great as before: thus, of course, alluding to the enormous substructions by which the southern part of the area and the Basilican stoa were carried. I regret that want of time and space prevent me from entering more at large into this curious question; and I have, therefore, merely thrown together the above notes as they have

occurred to me, and which may, perhaps, suggest a more complete elucidation of the text of Josephus.

I will conclude, by remarking that the twenty-one feet width of the alley gives an excessive intercolumniation; but, as the architraves were evidently constructed of timber, the intercolumniation must have been *arcæostyle*.

NOTE B.

I HAVE received the last Volume of the Bibliotheca Sacra, or Theological Review for 1848, just in time to make a few remarks on Dr Robinson's strictures on Majors Symonds and Aldrich and their important labours in Jerusalem and Palestine.

In a Paper on the "Depression of the Red Sea and of the Jordan Valley," read before the New York Historical Society in June 1847, and before the Roy a Geographical Society of London, November 22 in the same year; published in the American periodical above named (No. xix. August 1848. Vol. v. p. 397, &c.) and in the Journal of the Geographical Society, (Vol. xviii. 1848, Part II. p. 77, &c.,) Dr Robinson has commented somewhat severely on Major Symonds' Survey, apparently because it "was not carried on by the process of levelling usually employed in laying out the course of a canal or railroad. However exact, therefore, the observations may have been in themselves, yet no one probably will suppose that this method of survey would ever be adopted, or in any way relied on, in undertaking any great public work, like a railroad or canal, where the ascertaining of the true level was essential." (p. 85. Geog. Journ.; p. 406. Theol. Rev.) And after some further attempts to discredit the Survey, he concludes that, "taking into consideration all the circumstances thus far adduced, there certainly does seem ground sufficient for the suggestion of a doubt whether the problem of the depression of the Dead Sea and Jordan Valley is yet fully solved." (G. J. pp. 86, 7, and T. R. 407.)

Whether the argument from a certain feature in the Officers' Plan of Jerusalem was adduced to discredit the Survey, or whether the correctness of the Survey was questioned in order to shake confidence in the Plan, Dr Robinson best knows. It appears in the former aspect in the Paper referred to. He says that "under a certain aspect, it is not without some weight;" and again, "it is easy to perceive that it might have some bearing upon a judgment of the present question." (pp. 86 and 407.) The inference here obviously suggested is, that as the Plan of Jerusalem is incorrect, so probably is the Survey of the Country; as "this Plan differs from every other in the form and extent of the Haram-area, the site of the ancient Jewish Temple;" and is therefore wrong—for this must be assumed in order to give the argument any weight)—so the Survey,

which gives such a rapid fall to the Jordan (16·4 feet per mile according to his computation), and such an enormous depression to the Dead Sea (1312·2 feet), is probably inaccurate.

Now first with regard to the Plan of Jerusalem. The discrepancy in the *extent* of the area is accounted for by an error in the scale of the Plan to which Dr. Robinson refers—an error of one in ten, inadvertently committed in its reduction from the original draught in the Ordnance Office. The variation in the *form* is not so easily accounted for; and it is indeed a matter of surprise that the numerous errors of former surveys have passed current so long, and been acquiesced in by all travellers, and perpetuated in all Plans, from D’Anville to Schultz, including Mr. Catherwood and Dr. Robinson. And this consideration alone ought to have withheld Dr. Robinson from charging the Engineer Officers with inaccuracy—for it is very improbable that they would, in important points, depart from every precedent without excellent reason. The chief discrepancy in their Plan of the Haram is thus stated and commented on by Dr. Robinson—“Above all, the western side of the area, instead of being marked as a straight line, as is done correctly in every Plan of Jerusalem from D’Anville to Schultz, is here represented as being drawn in towards the southern end by two rectangular offsets one of 100 feet, the other of 130 feet. That no such offsets exist is a matter of public notoriety to all who have ever visited Jerusalem.”

As I have before had occasion to dwell at length on this peculiarity of the west wall of the Haram, and have stated the authority on which it was so laid down by the Officers, (H. C. Vol. II. pp. 322—324. Supplement, above, pp. 32—34,) I need only here add, that if errors in the principal thoroughfares of Jerusalem, as laid down by Mr. Catherwood, were not rectified in subsequent Plans—if *e. g.* so keen and accurate an observer as Dr. Robinson not only represented, on his *corrected* Plan, Streets which do not exist, but actually argued about them as established facts, (above p. 8, and notes)—if Dr. Schultz, who had resided for years in Jerusalem actively prosecuting archæological researches in all parts, allowed the same mistakes to pass uncorrected,—is it not possible that the angles in the West Wall of the Haram may have escaped observation, especially considering the obstacles that the buildings interpose to an accurate survey? and if further, the Officers have corrected the errors in the Streets, may it not be that their scientific survey discovered other facts which had escaped less experienced observers?

I may add a few words concerning the results of Major Symonds’ trigonometrical survey of the country between the Mediterranean and the Valley of the Jordan. These are so far from justifying a presumption against his accuracy, that all subsequent observations tend only to confirm them. And although I apprehend there is no immediate intention of forming either “a canal or railroad” between Jaffa and Jericho, yet the credit of the Ordnance Office was a sufficient guarantee for the fidelity of

the Survey, and its completeness for all scientific purposes. But in the same number of the *Geographical Journal* which contains Dr. Robinson's Essay, is an interesting Paper of Mr. Petermann, shewing, 1st, that "Lieut. Symonds' results for the depression of the Dead Sea, compared with the different barometrical results, do not prove such an amount of discrepancy as to justify a doubt in their accuracy."

2dly, That "the fall of the Jordan of 984 feet, between the two lakes," [even assuming Dr. Robinson's measure of their distance,] as computed from the trigonometrical results, does not exhibit an "immense contrast with all similar phænomena." And, moreover, owing to our present defective knowledge of the entire course of the Jordan, and the anomaly of the fall of rivers in general, inferences, drawn from the aggregate fall of the Jordan, can scarcely prove of sufficient weight to control the results of trigonometrical observations." (*Geog. Journal*, p. 98.)

The justice of this last remark appears from the Notes on the course of the Jordan between the two Seas, by Lieut. Molineux, (published in the same number of the *Journal*), who explored the Ghor and the Dead Sea in a boat, in August 1847, and added another to the list of victims to this perilous undertaking. He died soon after he had completed his task. He speaks of continual rapids and weirs over which he had to drag his boat with extreme toil, and thus describes the river: "Its winding course, which was marked by luxuriant vegetation, looked like a gigantic serpent twisting down the valley." "The river here and there washes the foot of the cliffs which enclose this smaller valley, but generally it winds in the most tortuous manner between them." "It would be quite impossible to give any account of the various turnings of the Jordan in its way from the Lake of Tiberias to the Dead Sea." pp. 111—113.

All this has been since confirmed by the very recent Survey (A.D. 1848) of Lieut. Lynch and the other American officers, who have ascertained that, instead of 60 geographical miles computed by Dr. Robinson, the course of the Jordan between the two seas is not less than 200 statute miles—so reducing the rate of fall from 16·4 feet per mile to 6 feet per mile; which is further accounted for by twenty-seven threatening rapids, besides many others of less descent. Lastly, of the results of the trigonometrical survey of these same American officers, with a view to determine the depression of the Dead Sea, Dr. Robinson admits, "we may infer, if the calculations prove correct, that this level will not differ very greatly in its results from the triangulation of Lieut. Symonds." See Dr. Robinson's account of the Dead Sea Expedition, in the *Theological Review* for 1848, pp. 764—769.

This same Volume of the *Review* contains the letter of Mr. Whiting, with the shadow of an argument for the pseudo-Tyropeon, noticed in H. C. II. p. 529, n. 4.

APPENDIX.

No. I.

Account of Jerusalem during the Frank Occupation, extracted from the Universal Geography of Edrisi. Climate III. sect. 5. Translated by P. Amédée Jaubert. Tome I. pp. 341—345. Paris, A. D. 1836.

[THIS work, written about the middle of the 12th Century, was first published under the name of "Geographia Nubiensis," in a Latin translation, A. D. 1619. The writer was a Mohammedan, as Casaubon maintained, not a Christian, as the learned translator and editor Gabriel Sionita supposed. See further Dr. Robinson's Biblical Researches, First Appendix (A), p. 7. in ann. c. 1150.]

JERUSALEM.

Beït el-Mocaddas (Jérusalem) est une ville illustre, ancienne et pleine d'antiques monuments. Elle porta le nom d'Ilia (Ælia Capitolina). Située sur une montagne d'un accès facile de tous les côtés, elle s'étend de l'ouest à l'est. A l'occident est la porte dite d'el-Mihrab ; au-dessous est la coupole de David (sur qui soit le salut !); à l'orient, la porte dite de la Miséricorde, laquelle est ordinairement fermée et ne s'ouvre que lors de la fête des rameaux ; au midi, la porte de Seïhoun (Sion) ; au nord, la porte dite d'Amoud el-Ghorab. En partant de la porte occidentale ou d'el Mihrab, on se dirige vers l'est par une large rue, et l'on parvient à la grande église dite de la Résurrection, et que les Musulmans appellent Comamé. Cette église est l'objet du pèlerinage des chrétiens de tous les pays de l'orient et de l'occident. On y entre par la porte occidentale, et l'on parvient sous le dôme qui couvre toute l'enceinte et qui est l'une des choses les plus remarquables du monde. L'église est au-dessous de cette porte, et il n'est pas possible de descendre dans la partie inférieure de l'édifice par ce côté ; on y descend du côté du nord par une porte donnant sur un escalier qui a trente marches, laquelle porte s'appelle Bab Santa-Maria. A son entrée dans l'église, le spectateur trouve le saint sépulchre, édifice considérable, ayant deux portes et surmonté d'une coupole d'une construction très-solide, très-forte et faite avec un art admirable ; de ces deux portes l'une fait face, du côté du nord, à la porte de Santa-Maria, l'autre fait face au sud et se nomme Bab el Saloubié (porte du crucifiement) : c'est de ce côté qu'est le péristyle de l'église, péristyle vis-à-vis duquel est, vers l'orient, une (autre) église considérable, immense, où les chrétiens célèbrent leurs saints offices et font leurs prières et leurs oblations.

A l'orient de cette église, en descendant par une pente douce, on parvient à la prison où le seigneur Messie fut détenu et au lieu où il fut

crucifié. La grande coupole est circulairement percée à ciel ouvert, et l'on y voit tout autour et intérieurement des peintures représentant les prophètes, le seigneur Messie, sainte Marie sa mère, et saint Jean-Baptiste. Parmi les lampes qui sont suspendues au-dessus du saint sépulcre, on en distingue trois qui sont en or et qui sont (placées) dans un lieu particulier. Si vous sortez de l'église principale en vous dirigeant vers l'orient, vous rencontrerez la sainte demeure qui fut bâtie par Salomon, fils de David, et qui fut un lieu de pèlerinage du temps de la puissance des Juifs. Ce temple leur fut ensuite ravi et ils en furent chassés à l'époque de l'arrivée des Musulmans. Sous la domination musulmane il fut agrandi, et c'est (aujourd'hui) la grande mosquée connue par les Musulmans sous le nom de Mesdjid el-Acsa. Il n'en existe pas au monde qui l'égale en grandeur, si l'on en excepte toutefois la grande mosquée de Cordoue en Andalousie ; car, d'après ce qu'on rapporte, le toit de cette mosquée est plus grand que celui de la Mesdjid el-Acsa. Au surplus, l'aire de cette dernière forme un parallélogramme dont la hauteur est de deux cents brasses (*ba'a*), et le base de cents quatre-vingts. La moitié de cet espace, celle qui est voisin du Mihrab, est couverte d'un toit (ou plutôt d'un dôme) en pierres soutenu par plusieurs rangs de colonnes ; l'autre est à ciel ouvert. Au centre de l'édifice est un grand dôme connu sous le nom de Dôme de la roche ; il fut orné d'arabesques en or et d'autres beaux ouvrages, par les soins de divers califes musulmans. Au-dessous est la roche tombante ; cette roche est de forme quadrangulaire comme un bouclier ; l'une de ses extrémités s'élève au-dessus du sol de la hauteur d'une demi-brasse ou environ, l'autre est adhérente au sol ; elle est à peu près cubique, et sa largeur égale à peu près sa longueur, c'est-à-dire près de dix coudées (*Zira'a*). Au-dessous est un caverne ou une retraite obscure, de dix coudées de long sur cinq de large, et dont la hauteur est de plus d'une toise ; on n'y pénètre qu'à la clarté des flambeaux. Le dôme est percé de quatre portes ; en face de celle qui est à l'occident, on voit l'autel sur lequel les enfants d'Israël offraient leurs sacrifices ; auprès de la porte orientale est l'église nommée le saint des saints, d'une construction élégante ; au midi est une chapelle qui était à l'usage des Musulmans ; mais les chrétiens s'en sont emparés de vive force et elle est restée en leur pouvoir jusqu'à l'époque de la composition du présent ouvrage. Ils ont converti cette chapelle en un couvent où résident des religieux de l'ordre des templiers, c'est-à-dire des serviteurs de la maison de Dieu. Enfin la porte septentrionale est située vis-à-vis d'un jardin bien planté de diverses espèces d'arbres et entouré de colonnes en marbre sculptées avec beaucoup d'art. Au bout du jardin est un réfectoire pour les prêtres et pour ceux qui se destinent à entrer dans les ordres.

En sortant de ce lieu d'adorations et en vous dirigeant vers l'orient, vous parviendrez à la porte de la Miséricorde, condamnée ainsi que nous venons de le dire, mais auprès de laquelle est une autre porte

par laquelle on peut entrer et sortir, et qui se nomme Bab el-Asbat (ou des tribus israélites). A la distance d'un jet de flèche de cette dernière est une très-grande et très-belle église sous l'invocation de sainte Marie et connue sous le nom de Djesmanié ; c'est là qu'est le tombeau (de la Vierge) en vue de la montagne des Oliviers, distante de Bab el-Asbat d'environ un mille. Sur le chemin par lequel on monte à cette montagne on voit un autre église, grande et solidement construite, qu'on nomme l'église de Pater Noster ; sur le sommet de la montagne, une grande église où des hommes et des femmes demeurent cloîtrés, attendant ainsi la rémunération divine ; au sud-est de la montagne, le tombeau de Lazare qui fut ressuscité par le seigneur Messie ; et à 2 milles du mont des Oliviers, le bourg d'où fut amenée l'ânesse qui servit de monture au seigneur Messie lors de son entrée à Jérusalem ; ce bourg est actuellement désert et ruiné.

C'est à partir du tombeau de Lazare que commence la voie qui conduit au Jourdain, fleuve éloigné de la ville sainte d'une journée de distance. Avant d'arriver sur ses bords, vous rencontrez la ville d'Erikha (Jéricho), située à 3 milles du fleuve. Auprès du Jourdain est une grande église sous l'invocation de saint Jean, desservie par des moines grecs. Le Jourdain sort du lac de Tibériade, et verse ses eaux dans le lac de Sodôme et de Gomorrhe, villes que le Très-Haut submergea en punition des crimes de leurs habitants. Au midi de ce fleuve est un vaste désert.

En ce qui touche la partie méridionale de Jérusalem : en sortant par la porte de Sion, vous trouvez, à la distance d'un jet de pierre, l'église de Sion, église belle et fortifiée, où se trouve la salle où mangea le seigneur Messie avec ses disciples, ainsi que la table, encore subsistante de nos jours, et qu'on va visiter le jeudi. De la porte de Sion on descend dans un fossé connu sous le nom de vallée de l'Enfer (Jehennom), auprès duquel est l'église de Saint Pierre. C'est dans ce fossé qu'est la source de Selwan (de Siloë), où le seigneur Messie donna la vue à un aveugle qui auparavant n'avait jamais joui de la lumière du jour. Au midi de cette source est le champ qui fut acheté par le Messie pour la sépulture des étrangers. Non loin de là sont un grand nombre de maisons creusées dans le roc, et habitées par de pieux céno-bites.

No. II.

NORMAN CHRONICLE.

THE following very curious and interesting description of Jerusalem must have been written by some one who had long resided there during the Frank occupation, but did not compose it until their expulsion by Saladin, as the introductory notice declares.

It was first published by Beugnot in a note to his splendid edition of the "Assises de Jérusalem," (Tome II. p. 531, note a. Paris 1843,) from a Manuscript in the Royal Library at Paris—(Fonds de Sorbonne, No. 387, fos. 304—308). It is one of the most valuable documents on the subject that has been yet brought to light; and I follow the example of Dr. Schultz in appending it to my book. (Dr. Schultz's Jerusalem, Zusätze, No. II. pp. 107—115); adding also the important illustrations gathered by him chiefly from Sebastiano Pauli's "Codice Diplomatico de Sacri Militari Ordine de Jerusalemme," to which I have not access.

i. *En quel estat la citez de Jerusalem et li seins lieu estoient à ce jour.*

Pource que li plus des bons Crestiens parolent et houent parler volentiers de la seinte cité de Iherusalem, et des seins lieux où Ihesu Cris fu mors et vis, nous dirons comment elle aroit au jour que Salhadins et li Sarrazin la conquissent sur les Crestiens. Aucunes gens porent estre qui le vodrent ouir; cil à qui il desplaisoit, porent trespasser ce lieu

Li ot en la cité de Iherusalem III. maistres portes en crois, l'une endroit l'autre, entre les pourternes. Or les vous nommeray coument elles serient. La *porte David* estoit vers soleil couchant et estoit à la droiture des *portes Obres*, qui estoient vers soleil levant de derrieres *le temple Domini*. Cele porte tenoit à la porte David¹. Quant on estoit devant cele porte, si tournoit an à main destre, en une rue par devant *la tour David*. Si poit on aler ou mont de Syon par une posterne qui là estoit en cele rue à mein senestre. Ainsi comme on ilsoit hors de la posterne, un moustier monseigneur *S. Jaque de Galice*, qui freres estoit monseigneur *S. Jehan evangeliste*; là disoit on que *S. Jacques* ot la teste copée, et pource fist on le moustier là. La grant rue qui aloit de la tour David droit aux portes Ores. La grant apeloit on *la rue David*, jusqu'au change, à mein senestre. De la tour Davit avoit une grant place où on vendoit le blé. Et quant on avoit un peu avalé cele rue, qui avoit non la rue David, si trouvoit on une rue à mein senestre qui avoit non *la rue au Patriarche*², pource que li patriarches manoit au chief de cele rue. Li patriarches avoit une porte de là où on entroit en la maison de l'Ospital. Après si avoit une porte par où on entroit ou moustier deu Sepucre, mais n'estoit mie la mistre. Quant on venoit au *change*, là où la rue David failloit, si trouvoit on une rue qui avoit non *la rue de Mont Syon*. Et à l'issue du change trouvoit on une rue couverte à vote qui avoit non *la rue des Herbes*; là vendoit on toutes les herbes, et tous les fruis de la vile, et les espices. Au chief de cele rue avoit I. lieu où on vendoit le poisson. Et avoit une grant place à mein senestre, là où en vendoit les fromages et les poules et les oes. A mein destre de cel marchié estoient *li lié as orfevres surieis*. Et si y vendoit on les paumes que li pomier aportent d'Outremer³. A mein destre de cel marchié estoient *les eschepes des orfevres latins*. Au chief des eschopes avoit une *abaie de nonnains*, que on apeloit *Seinte Marie la Grant*⁴. Après cele

abaïe de nonnains trouvoit on une *abaïe de moignes noirs*, que on apeloit *Seinte Marie la Latine*. Après trouvoit on *la meison de l'Ospital* à mein destre.

ii. *De ce meisme.*

De la droiture de l'Ospital estoit *la mestre porte du Sepucure*. Devant cele porte du Sepulcre avoit une moult bele place pavée de marbre. A mein destre de cel Sepulcre avoit 1. moustier que l'on appelle *S. Jaque des Jacopins*. A mein destre, devant de cele porte du Sepulcre, avoit 1. degré par où en montoit ou mont de Calvaire. Là sus, en son le mont, avoit une moult belle chapelle. Et si avoit 1. autre huis en cele chapelle, par où en entroit ou moustier du Sepuchre et y avaloit on par uns autres degrez qui là estoient. Tout ainsi c'on, entroit ou moustier du Sepulcre, desouz le mont de Calvaire, si estoit Golgatas ; à mein destre estoit li clochiers du Sepulcre, et si avoit une chapelle que en apeloit *Seinte Trinité*. Cele chapelle si estoit mout grans, car on y espousoit toutes les fames de la cité. Et là estoit li fons où en baptizoit touz les enfans de la cité. Et cele chapelle si estoit tenant au Sepucure, si comme il y avoit une porte de dont on entroit ou moustier : à l'endroiture de cele porte estoit *li monumens*. En cel endroit, là où li monumens, estoit li moustiers tous roons, et si estoit ouvres par desure, sanz couverture. Et dedans cest le monument estoit la pierre dou Sepulcre, et li monumens couvers a voute au chavech de cel monument, ausi com au chief de l'autel par dehors, que l'en apeloit *Chavec* ; là chantoit en chascun jour au point du jour. Il avoit moult bele place tout entour le monument et toute pavée, si com en aloit à pourcession tout entour le monument. Après, vers Orient, estoit li cueurs du Sepucure, là où li chanoines chantoient ; si estoit lons. Entre le cuer, là où li chanoine estoient et le monument, avoit 1. autel là où li Grieu chantoient. Mès 1. autre clos avoit entre 11 ; y avoit 1. par où on aloit de l'un à l'autre. Et en milieu du cuer au chanoines, avoit 1. letrin de marbre, que en apeloit *le compas* ; lassus list en l'epistre. A main destre du mestre autel de ce cuer estoit mons de Calvarie. Si que, quant on chantoit messe de la Resurrexion, li diacres, quant il chantoit l'Evangile, si se tournoit vers le mont de Calvaire quant il disoit *Crucifixum* ; après si se tournoit vers le monument quant il disoit *resurrexit, non est hic*, si monstroit au doit : *Ecce locus ubi posuerunt eum* ; et puis si se retournoit au livre si pardisoit son Evangile. Au cheves dou cuer avoit une porte, par là où li chanoine entroient en leur offecines, à mein destre. Entre cele porte et mont de Calvaire avoit 1. mout parfont fossé, où en avaloit à degrez. Là avoit une place que en apeloit *Sainte Helaine*. Là trouva sainte Helainne la crois et les clous et le martel et la courone. En cele fosse, ou tens que Ihesu Cris fu en terre, getoit on les cors de larrons qui estoient crucifiez, quand on les despendoit. Et quant on leur coupoit ou poing ou teste, ou en en faisoit aucune justice, on le faisoit ou mont de Calvarie ; que on y faisoit les justices et ce que les lois

aportoient, et que on gistoit les membres que on jugoit à pardre aus malfaiteurs. Tout ainsi que li chanoine issoient dou Sepulcre, à mein senestre estoit leur dortoirs, et à mein destre li refrotois et tenoit au mont de Calvarie. Entre ces ii. offices estoit leur clistres et leur preaus. En un lieu du peel avoit une grant ouverture, dont on veoit en la chambre Elaine qui dessous estoit, car autrement n'i veoit on goute.

iii. *De ce meisme.*

Le changes estoit tenans à la rue des Herbes, que on apeloit *Malquimat*. En cele rue cuisoit on la viande au pelerins, que en vendoit, et si lavoit on les chiez. Et si aloit on de la rue au Sepulcre. Tout avant de cele rue de Malquimat, avoit une rue que en apeloit *la rue Couverte*, là où en vendoit la draperie; et estoit toute à voute par desure. Et par cele rue aloit on au Sepulcre. Cele rue dont aloit du change aus portes Oires, avoit à non *la rue du Temple*; pour ce l'apeloit on *la porte du Temple*, que en venoit ainçois au Temple que aux portes Oires. A mein senestre, si com on avaloit cele rue à aler au Temple, là estoit la Boucherie, là où en vendoit la char de la boucherie à ceuz de la vile. A mein destre avoit une autre rue, par là où on aloit à l'Ospital. Cele rue avoit non *aus Alemans*. A mein senestre, sur le pont, avoit i. moustier de *S. Gile*. Au chief de cele rue trouvoit on unes portes que en apeloit *portes Precieuses*; que Ihesu Cris par ces portes entroit en la cité de Iherusalem, quant il ala par terre. Ces portes si estoient en un mur qui estoit entre la cité et le mur des portes Oires.

iv. *De ce meisme.*

Entre le mur de la cité et le mur des portes Oires si estoit li Temples. Et si y avoit une grant place qui plus estoit d'une traictie de lonc et le giet d'une pierre de lé, ain que en veigne au Temple. Cele place si estoit pavée, dont on apeloit cele place *le Pavement*. A mein destre, si come en issoit de ces portes, estoit li temples *Salomon*, là où li frere du Temple manioient. A la droiture des portes Precieuses et des portes Oires estoit li moustiers du temple *Domini*. Et si estoit en haut, si come il monta aus degrez haus. Et quant en montoit ces degrez, si trouvoit on moult large, et cis pavement aaloit tout entour le moustier du Temple. Li moustiers dou Temple estoit tous rons. Et à mein senestre du haut pavement du Temple, estoit l'offecine de l'abbé et des chanoines. Et de cele part avoit uns degrez par où en montoit au Temple, du bas pavement en haut. Devers soleil levant, tenant au mostier du Temple, avoit une chapelle de monseigneur *S. Jaque l'apostre*, le menor; pource estoit ilec quant cele chapele que il y fu martiriez, quant li Juis le giterent de sur le Temple aval. Dedens cele chapelle estoit li lieux où Ihesu Cris delivra la pecharresse qui on menoit martirer, pource qu'ele avoit esté prise en avoultere. Au chief de ce pavement, par devers soleil levant,

ravaloit en uns degrez à aler aus portes Oires. Quant on les avoit avalez, si trouvoit l'on une place grant, ains que en venist au portes: là seoit li autres que Salemons fist. Par ces portes ne passoit nus, ains estoient murées, et se n'i passoit nulz que ii. foiz en l'an, que on les desmuroit; et aloit on à pourcession le jour de Pasques Flories, pource que Ihesu Cris y passa à cel jour, et fu recueillis à pourcessions; et le jour de la feste Seinte Crois en stenbrre, pour ce que par ces portes fu raportée la crois en Iherusalem, quant li emperieres de Rome Eracles le conquesta en Perse et par cele porte la remist en la cité et [a]la en à pourcession encontre lui. Parce que on n'issoit mie hors de la vile par ces portes, yl y avoit une posterne par encoste, que en apeloit *la porte de Josaphat*. Par cele posterne issoient ceulz de la cité hors de cele part. Et cele posterne estoit à mein senestre des portes Oires, par devers midi. Y avoloit on du haut pavement du Temple bas, de dont on aloit au temple Salmon. A mein senestre, si com on aloit du haut pavement en bas, là avoit i. moustier que on apeloit *le Biers*. Là estoit li bers dont Diex fu berchiés en s'enfance, si que en disoit. Ou moustier dou Temple avoit iii. portes en crois; la premiere estoit devers souleil couchant: par celi entroient cil de la cité ou Temple; et par celi, devers soleil levant, entroit on en la chapelle, et si s'enrissoit on ileques aus portes Oires. Par la porte devers midi entroit on ou temple Salemon. Et par la porte devers Aquillon entroit on en *l'abaïee*.

v. *De ce meisme.*

Or vous ai devisé du Temple et dou Sepulcre, coment il seent, et de l'Ospital, et des rues qui estoient des porte de David deci as portes Oires, l'une endroit l'autre. Cele devers Aquillon avoit non *la porte Seinte Estiene*. Par cele porte entroient tout li pelerin et tout cil qui par devers Acre venoit en Iherusalem, et par toute la terre du flun jusqu'à la mer d'Escalone. Dehors cele porte, ainsi com on y entroit, à mein destre avoit un moustier de monseigneur *Saint Estienes*⁵ qui fu lapidés. Devant ce moustier, à mein senestre, avoit un grant manson que en apelloit *l'Asnerie*; là souloient gesir li asne et li sommier de l'Ospital, pource avoit non l'Asnerie. Ce moustier de S. Estiene abatirent li Crestien de Iherusalem devant ce qu'il fussent assegié, pour ce que li moustiers estoit près de murs. L'Asnerie ne fu pas abatue, ains ot puis grant mestier aus pelerins qui par treuage venoient en Iherusalem, quant elle estoit as Sarrasins, et que les Sarrasins n'es laissoient mie herbergier dedens la cité: pource lor [fu] la maison de l'Asnerie gran mestier. A mein destre de la porte de Iherusalem, tenant au murs, devant à la maladrerie, avoit une posterne que on apeloit *la posterne S. Ladre*. Quant li Sarrasins orrent conquise la cité sur les Crestiens, par là metoient il ens les Crestiens pour aler couvertement au Sepulcre. Car li Sarrasins ne vouloient mie que li Crestien veissent la couvine de la cité; pour ce

les metoie on ens par la porte le Patriarche, qui estoit en *la rue dou moustier du Sepulcre*, ne on ne les metoit mie ens par la mestre porte. Mais sachiez bien de voir que li Crestien pelerin qui vouloient aler au Sepucre et as autres seins lieux, que li Sarrasins en avoient d'eulz granz treus et grans leviers et grans services. Li Sarrasins les prisoient bien chascun an xx^m besans. Mais en escomenia après tous les Crestiens qui logier en donoient, par quoy il ne valoit mie tant. Quant on entroient en la cité par la porte de S. Estiene, si trovoit on ii. rues, l'une à destre et l'autre à senestre qui aloit à la porte de mont Syon qui estoit endroit midi. Et la porte en mont si estoit à droiture, aloit à une posterne que on apelle *la Tanerie* et aloit droit par dessous *le pont*. Cele rue qui aloit à la porte du Mont Syon, avoit à non *la rue S. Estiene*. Desci qui en venoit as changes des Suriens avoit à mein destre qui en apeloit *la rue dou Sepucre*; là estoit la porte de la Meson dou Sepucre: par là entroient ceus du Sepucre en leur meisons et en leur manoirs. Quant en venoit devant ce change, si tournoit en à mein destre une rue couverte à voute, par où en aloit au moustier dou Sepucre. En cele rue vendoit li Surien leur draperie et si faisoit on les chandeles de cire. Devant ce change vendoit on le poison. A ces changes tenoient les iii. rues qui tenoient aux autres chanches des Latins. Dont l'une de ces iii. rues avoit non *rue Couverte*. Là vendoient li Latin leur draperie; et l'autre *rue des Herbes*, et la tierce *Masquismat*. Par la rue des Herbes aloit on en la rue du Mont Syon, dont on aloit à la porte du Mont Syon, et tres copoit on la rue David. Par la rue Couverte aloit on en une rue par le change des Latins; cele rue apeloit on *la rue de l'Arc Judas*, pource que en disoit que Judas s'i pendi: si y avoit i. arc de pierre. A senestre de cele rue avoit i. *moustier de S. Martin*. Et près de cele porte avoit i. *moustier de S. Pierre*. Là disoit on que ce fu que Ihesu Cris fist la boue que il mist ès eux de celui qui n'avoit onques veu. Hors de la porte de Mont Syon si trovoit on iii. voies. Une voie à mein destre, qui aloit à l'abaïe et au *moustier de Mont Sion*. Et entre l'abaïe et les murs de la cité avoit i. grant atre et i. moustier, en milieu de la voie; à mein senestre si aloit selonc les murs de la cité droit au portes Oires et d'illec avaloit on ou val de Josaphat, et si en aloit en *la fontaine de SSyloe*. Et de cele porte à mein destre sur cele voie, avoit i. *moustier de S. Pierre en Galiceinte*. En tel moustier avoit une parfonde, là où en disoit que S. Pierres se musa, quant il ot Ihesu Cris renoïé et il oï le coc chanter, et là ploura il. La voie, à la droiture de cele porte par devers midi, si aloit par desur le mont, de si que en passalareie si avaloit on le mont et aloit en par cele porte en Bethleem.

vi. *De ce meisme.*

Quant on avoit avalé le mont, si trouvoit en i. lai en la valée, qu'en apeloit *le lai Germain*⁶, que Germain le fist faire pour recueillir les iaues qui descendoient des montaignes quant il plovoit; et là abuvroit

on les chevas de la cité. D'autre part la valée, à mein senestre, près d'iluec, avoit 1. charnier que en apeloit *Chaudemar*⁷. Là getoit on les pelerins qui mouroient à l'Ospital de Iherusalem. Cele [valée] où li charniers estoit fu acheté des deniers dont Judas vendi la cher Ihesu Crist, si come l'Evangile tesmoigne. Dehors la porte avoit 1. lai par devers soleil couchant, que on apeloit *le loy du Patriarche*, là où on recueilloit les iaues d'iluec entour pour abeurer les chevos. Près de cele lai avoit un charnier que en apeloit *le Charnier du Lyon*. Il avint jà, si com en disoit, à 1. jour qui passez estoit, qu'il avoit entre Crestiens et Sarrasins une bataille entre celle charnier et Iherusalem, où il avoit mout de Crestiens ocis, et que li Sarrasins de la bataille les devoient tous faire lendemain ordoir pour la puor. Tant que il avint que uns lyons vint par nuit, les porta touz en cele fosse, si con en disoit; pour ce l'apeloit on *le Charnier du Lyon*. Et dessus ce charnier avoit 1. *moustier* où en chantoit chascun jour près d'ileques. A une lieue avoit une *abeie de nonnains*, là où en disoit que une des pieces de la vraie crois fu cueillue...

vii. *De ce meisme.*

Or revieg à la porte S. Estienne, à la rue qui aloit à main senestre, qui aloit à la posterne de la Tanerie. Quant on avoit alé une grant piece de ceste rue à main senestre, que on apeloit *la rue de Josaphat*; quant en avoit 1. pou alé avant, si trovoit en 1. quarrefour d'une voie, dont la voie qui venoit devers senestre au Temple et aloit au Sepucre. Au chief de cele voie avoit une porte par devers le Temple, que on apeloit *portes Doulereuses*. A main destre, sur le carfor de cele voie, fu li ruisiaus dont l'Evangile tesmoigne; dont il disoit que nostre sires le passa quant il fu menez crucifier. En cel endroit avoit un *moustier de S. Jehan l'evangelistre*, et si y avoit un grant manoir. Cil manoirs et li moustiers estoit de nonnains de Bethanie; la manoient eles quant il estoit guerre de Sarrasins. Or revieg à la rue de Josaphat. Entre la rue de Josaphat et les murs de la cité, à main senestre, avoit rues, ainsi com à une vile. Là manoient li plus de ceulx de Iherusalem, et ces rues apeloit on *la Merie*. En tel merie avoit un *moustier de sainte Marie Madelaine*; et près du moustier avoit une posterne. En ne povoit mie issir de hors aus chans, mais entre 11. murs en aloit on. A main destre de cele rue de Josaphat avoit un moustier que en apeloit *le Repons*⁸; là disoit on que Ihesu Cris se repousa quant on le mena crucifier. Et là estoit la prison où il fu mis la nuit que il fu pris en Gessemani. Un peu avant en cele rue avoit esté *la maison Pilate*. A main senestre, devant cele maison, avoit une porte par où en aloit au Temple. Près de la porte de Josaphat, à main senestre, avoit une *abeie de nonnains*, si avoit à non *Sainte Anne*. Devant cele *abeie* avoit une fontaine que en apeloit *la Fontaine dessous la pecine*. Cele fontaine ne quert point, ains estoit desure. En cele fontaine, au temps de Ihesu

Crist, descendoit li anges, et mouvoit li aue, et li premiers malades qui y descendoit après estoit garis de s'enfermeté. Cele fontaine avoit v. porches où li malades gisoient, si con on dit. De la porte de Josaphat si avaloit on en val de Josaphat. Si avoit une *abeïe de noirs moigne*. En cele abeïe avoit un *moustier de madame Sainte Marie*. En cel moustier estoit li sepucres où ele fu enfouie. Li Sarrasins quant il orent prise la cité abatirent cele abeïe et en porterent les pierres à la cité fermer, mais le moustier n'abatirent il mie. Devant ce moustier, au pié dou mont d'Olivet, avoit 1. moustier en une roche que on apelloit *Gessemari*: là fu Ihesu Cris pris; d'autre part la voie, si con l'en monte ou mont d'Olivet, tant con on giteroit une pierre, avoit 1. moustier que on apeloit *S. Sauveur*; là ala Ihesu Cris aouer la nuit qu'il fu pris; et là li sueurs de son cors aussi com sans. Ou val de Josaphat avait hermites et veveles. Et s'estoit tout contreval, car je ne sai mie nommer jusqu'à de Syloe. Et sur le mont d'Olivet avoit une *abeïe de blans moignes*. Près de cele abeïe, à main destre, avoit une voie qui aloit en Betanie, toute la costiere de la montaigne. Seur le tour de cele voie avoit 1. moustier qui avoit à non *Sainte Patenostre*; là disoit on que Ihesu Cris fist la patenostre et l'enseigna à ses apoutres. Près d'iluec fu li figuiers que Diex maudist quant il aloit en Iherusalem, entre le moustier qui avoit non *Belfage*. Là vint Ihesus Cris le jour de Pasques Flories, et le jor envoya il en Iherusalem 12. disciples pour une asnesse et d'iluec ala en Iherusalem sur l'asnesse. Or vous ai dit et nomé les abeïs et les moustiers de Iherusalem, par dehors Iherusalem et par dedens, et les rues des Latins; mais je ne vous ai mie nomé les abeïes et les moustiers des Suriens, ne des Grejois, ne des Jacobins, ne des Boanins, ne des Nestorins, ne des Hermites, ne des autres manieres des gens qui n'estoient mie obeissant à Rome, dont il y avoit moustiers et abeïes en la cité: pour ce ne vous veil mie parler de toutes ces gens que je ici nomme, qui n'estoient mie obeissant à Romme, si con en disoit.

NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS OF THE PRECEDING DESCRIPTION.

1. Dr. Schultz observes, that instead of "cele porte tenoit à la porte David," we must certainly read "à la tour David."

2. "Rue au Patriarche"—called "*Ruham balneorum Patriarchæ*" in the following extract from a royal grant of Almaric, which further illustrates the position of other streets and buildings mentioned in the description. It is published, with other Archives of the Order of S. John, by Sebastiano Pauli Codice Diplomatico &c., P. 1. p. 243, No. cc. and is dated June, A.D. 1174. "Ego Amalricus Sete Civitatis Jherusalem Francorum Rex quintus . . . donavi in elemosinam . . . Scto Hospitali Jherusalem et Ecclesiae Sete Mariæ Majoris quandam viam que erat

inter Domum hospitalis predicti et Domum prefate sancte Marie Majoris. Cujus introitus a ruha palmariorum erat respiciens ad septentrionem. in opposita parte faciei Ecclesie Dominici Sepulchri. ingrediens ad meridiem inter utramque Domum. videlicet hospitalis et Sancte Marie majoris. ducens etiam infra Domos hospitalis. usque ad exitum in ruham balneorum Patriarche; de qua via meo assensu et consilio talem fecere conventionem et pactum et divisionem. quod ab introitu prescripto ipsius vie. usque ad quemdam arcum pariete clausum. sit ipsius Scte Marie Majoris possessio et in ea hedificent domos et que hedificanda habuerint. in longitudine et latitudine. In altitudine vero non amplius quam usque ad pedem Signorum Sancti Crucis. que in parietibus hospitalis sculta apparent pro meta. quam in edificio quod super hanc viam hedificaverint sanctimonialibus transscendere non licet. Ab predicto vero arcu pariete clauso. inter Ecclesiam Hospitalis et domos Sanctimonialium vacuum remaneat. neque Hospitali. neque Sanctimonialibus quicquid hedificare licet. Sanctimoniales vero super hoc spatium vacuum neque exitum neque fenestram facient. ab hoc vero spacio vacuo usque ad prenotatam ruham balneorum Patriarche sit libere et quiete possessio et proprietas hospitalis. et in ea quicquid voluerit faciant; Conductos autem observent et custodiant tam Sanctimoniales quam hospitalares. secundum quod cuique parti eorum pertinet. De toto quidem muro Ecclesiae hospitalis lapidem detrahere. vel inferre. aut etiam quicquid operis eidem muro imponere. Sanctimoniales nullo modo presumant."

3. A note of the Editor on the "ruha Palmariorum" in the foregoing document will further illustrate this passage. Codice Diplomatico, &c. p. 546. "Palmarii chiamavansi in questi tempi coloro, che ritornavano o dalla sacra milizia, o dalla visita del S. Sepulchro, dal riportare che facevano di colà una palma per ciascheduno. Del qual uso ne dà la ragione il Durando, lib. 1, Ration. cap. 3, num. 14: *Qui de Hierosolymis veniunt, palmam in manibus ferunt, in signum, quod illi Regi militarunt, qui Hierosolymis cum palmis receptus est.* Vedi S. Pier Damiano, lib. 2. Epistol. 15. Forse che dal luogo ove prendevano queste palme, o da coloro che le vendevano, ebbe suo nome questa contrada di Gerusalemme."

4. Sebastiano Pauli (l. c. p. 537) remarks that this nunnery was called S. Mary the Great, "a distinzione d'un altro monastero di Vergini consacrate a Dio, che nel Diploma CXV. p. 236 vien chiamato: *Sanctae Mariae Petittae.* Del primo ne parla il Tirio, lib. 19, cap. 4, p. 958: *Abatissa S. Mariae Majoris, quae Hierosolymis ante Sepulchrum Domini sita est;* ed il Cardinale de Vitri, p. 1078: *Abbatia S. Mariae Monialium in Hierusalem cum Abatissa et Monialibus nigris, sub Scti Benedicti regula Deo servientibus, tamquam cella aromatica sanctis et castis, et Deo devotis personis referta, quae religionis distractionem, vitae honestatem et caritatis fervorem, nulla compellente adversitate, vel paupertate, reliquerunt."*

5. The Monastery of S. Stephen is mentioned in two records among the Archives of the Knights of S. John.—The first dated 1157, is a conveyance to the Hospital of “...quandam vineam que affrontat ab Oriente in vinea Hospitalis. A meridie in vinea Setae Annae. ab Aquilone in *viam que ducit Neapolim* et tenet de via usque ad *Bivium Sancti Stephani*.” Seb. Pauli, l. c p. 204. No. CLXI. The second, of A.D. 1163, runs as follows:—“Regnante Ven. Dom. Almarico Latinorum Rege quinto. . . . Ego Eustachius et Agnes uxor mea quandam terram cum suis pertinentiis prope *Sanctum Stephanum*. que contigua est terre hospitalis Scti Johannis Baptistae. quod est in Jherusalem. et adjacens *duabus viis* una quarum intransibibus et exeuntibus portam Civitatis Jherusalem que dicitur Scti Stephani est patula. altera ad vallem Josaphat tendens. habet juxta se *cisternam* terre prefate pertinentem. que aperit os. communem haustum praebens viantibus. Deo et Sctis Pauperibus hospitalis prefati in helemosinam contradidimus.” Seb. Pauli, l. c. p. 207. No. CLXIV.

6. Birket es-Sultan is mentioned as “lacus Germani,” in the “Cartulaire du S. Sepulchre,” A.D. 1177. “. . . Ego Balduinus . . . in S. civitate Hierusalem Latinorum rex sextus, dono et . . . confirmo Deo et ecclesiae Sanctae Resurrectionis, nec non et Petro ejusdem venerabili priori, universis etiam canonicis ibidem Deo servientibus et in perpetuum servituris, duos quintarios racemorum in vineis meis, quae sunt prope ecclesiam Sanctae Crucis, perpetualiter singulis annis recipiendos, . . . in cambium scilicet decimae, quam habebant in vinea quae est juxta, secundum procopios, quam dominus et pater meus, . . . rex Amalricus, donavit ecclesiae Montis Syon, pro *lacu Germani*, qui communis est usibus universae civitatis, etc.” *Assises de Jerusalem*, II. p. 531, No. 48.

7. Chaudemar—i.e. Aceldama, mentioned in the Archives of the Knights of S. John, in a grant of the Patriarch to the Hospital, A.D. 1143. “Ego Willelmus D. G. Setae Jherusalem Patriarchanotum facio quod ego *Æcclesiam* quandam. quae in agro qui *Achel demach* dicitur. sita est. ubi peregrinorum sepeliuntur corpora. cum tota ejusdem agri terra, ab antiquis Surianis, nobis praesentibus divisa. Hospitali quod est in Jherusalem habendam in perpetuum concessi. etc.” Among the signatures is one “Willelmus Clericus. qui predictam incepit *Ecclesiam*.” Seb. Pauli, l. c. p. 23. No. XXII.

8. Dr. Schultz remarks “we must here certainly read “Repous” for “Repons.”

No. III.

EXTRACTS FROM MEJIR-ED-DIN.

(Mines d'Orient, Tom. II. p. 83, &c.)

[THE following detailed account of the Haram es-Sherif, with some interesting notices of the City, is extracted from an Arabic work entitled "The Sublime Companion to the History of Jerusalem and Hebron, by Kadi Mejir-ed-din, Ebil-yemen Abd-er-Rahman, El-Alemi," who died A. H. 927, (A. D. 1521). It was translated by Von Hammer, in the Mines d'Orient, Tome II. pp. 81, et seq. But I have collated the greater part of his translation with an original Arabic MS. in the British Museum. I have marked by Italics the variations of the original which I follow, from Von Hammer's translation. The figures in brackets refer to the Supplementary Plan on the large Plate. The Arabic words in Italics are explained in a Glossary at the end.]

CHAP. XX. DESCRIPTION OF THE MESJID EL-AKSA.

§ i.

Mesjid el-Aksa is the name given to the body of the Mosk, which extends from South to North, with a lofty dome adorned with mosaics, under which is the *Mihrab* [1], and the *Minbar* [2]. It is divided into seven compartments (*Akwár*), supported by columns and piers, of which are 45 columns, 33 of marble, 12 of stone. The thirteenth column is towards the eastern gate [8], near the *Mihrab* of Zachariah [7]. There are in all 40 piers of stone. The roof, which is of great elevation, is of wood. *In the middle of its southern part is the dome*, on the sides of which are two compartments. The four others are arranged two on the East and two on the West side. The other half of the roof is of stone and mortar. That which is of wood is leaded without. One part of the Mosk on the South and East is lined with marbles of different colours.

The great *Mihrab* on the East side of the *Minbar* is said to be the *Mihrab* of David. Others say that his is the *Mihrab* outside the *Jamia* on the South wall, to the East, near the place called the Cradle of Jesus [12]. I have spoken before of the *Mihrab* of David at the Castle. *For his residence was there, as was his oratory.* M. d'O.
II. p. 84.

When Omar came to Jerusalem *he followed his* (David's) *example*, praying in the same place, which was also called the *Mihrab* of Omar, because there he first prayed on the day of the conquest of Jerusalem. But it was originally the *Mihrab* of David. *In confirmation of this is the tradition of Omar demanding of Kaab, "Where shall we establish our oratory?"* The small *Mihrab* on the West side of the *Minbar*, surrounded with an iron fence, is called the *Mihrab* of Moaviah [3].

§ ii. *Dimensions.*

The length from the great *Mihrab* to the opposite gate is 100 common Ziraas, exclusive both of the apse of the *Mihrab* and of the portico without the northern gate. The width from the eastern gate, leading towards the Cradle of Jesus, to the western gate, is 77 common Ziraas.

On the East is a Mosk, built wholly of stone, called the Mosk of Omar, because this building is *one of the remaining buildings* of Omar; and the *Mihrab* in this place is called the *Mihrab* of Omar, viz. that which is near the *Minbar* opposite to the great North door, as lately described.

On the North of the Mosk of Omar is a porch [6], called the Porch of 'Ozair (*i.e.* Ezra), from which a door leads into the Mosk of Omar, and near this porch is another where is the *Mihrab* of Zachariah [7], near the eastern gate [8]. Within the Mosk on the West is a large building divided into two compartments, running East and West, called the Mosk of the Women. It has ten arches supported by nine *piers*, *very well built*, erected, it is said, by the Fatimites.

Within the Mosk (Jamia) behind the Kibla, is the Corner of the Circumcision [4]. This oratory is surrounded with an iron fence, and adjoins the *Minbar*. Near the Circumcision Corner, on the West side, is the *Dar-el-khotabut* [the place where the Khotba, or prayer for the reigning sovereign is offered]. The *Minbar* is of wood, inlaid with ivory and ebony, constructed by the Sultan Melik el-Aadel Nureddin es-Shahid, at Aleppo, in the year 564 (A.D. 1168⁸), and thence conveyed to Jerusalem by Saladin after his conquest, according to the intentions of Nureddin, which were thus accomplished after his death. The date of *its construction* is inscribed upon it. Opposite the *Minbar* is the gallery (*dikkah*) of the Muezzins [5], formed of beautiful marble.

This Mosk has ten gates of entrance. Seven on the North, one opening into each of its seven compartments. Outside these gates are seven porches raised on seven arches opposite these gates. They have fourteen *marble columns built into the piers (sowari)*. The eastern gate [8] leads to the Cradle of Jesus; another is opposite to this, on the West side [9], and the tenth is that which leads to the Women's Mosk.

§ iii. *The Well of the Leaf.* [10].

This is within the Mosk at the side of the great gate. There are various traditions concerning this Well, one of which is reported by Abu-Bekr, Ibn-Miryam, and by Atyé, Ibn-Kaisi. According to him, the Prophet said, "One of my people shall enter into Paradise walking, while yet alive." It happened in the time of Omar that *some persons came to Jerusalem to pray*. A man of the tribe of the Beni-Temim, named Sherik Ibn-Habasha, *went to bring water for his companions, and his bucket fell into the well. He went down to recover it, and found a door in the well which led to gardens. He entered the door to the gardens,*

and walked in the gardens, and took a leaf from their trees, which he placed behind his ear. He returned by the well, came to the governor, and reported *what he had found in the gardens, and about his entering them.* He sent some men with him to the well, who descended with him, but they did not find any door, nor arrive at the gardens. And *he wrote* to Omar, who answered, that the tradition of the Prophet concerning the man that should enter Paradise alive, was true; but it should be ascertained whether the leaf was fresh or dry; for if it had changed colour it could not be from Paradise, where nothing changes. The tradition adds, that it had not changed. *It is said, that the well is that which is in the Mesjid el-Aksa, on the left as you enter the Jamia.* On the South-east is a great magazine called the Magazine of the Joiners, in which are kept the utensils for the Mosk. It was probably constructed by the Fatimites. There is a second mouth to the Well of the Leaf.

The second *Mihrab* of David [12] is without the Jamia, but within the *Mesjid*, on the southern wall, on the East side—a great *Mihrab* celebrated among the people as the *Mihrab of David*, near the Cradle of Jesus.

§ iv. *The Mart of Science*, [11.]

M. d'O.
II. p. 86.

At the eastern end of the Mosk, towards the second *Mihrab* of David, is a place with a *Mihrab*, called the Mart of Science. I know not the reason of this name, which probably owes its origin to the inventive spirit of the servants of the Mosk, to excite the curiosity of the pilgrims. Some historians write that the Gate of Repentance was on this side. When an Israelite transgressed, his sin was found in the morning written on the door of his house, then he went to this place to repent and beseech God. The sign of his pardon was the disappearance of the writing; and so long as it was not obliterated he dared not approach any one. This place was assigned as an Oratory to the Hanbelites, by the Sultan Isa, son of Abu-Bekr, of the family of Eyûb, Lord of Damascus.

§ v. *The Cradle of Jesus*, [12].

This is a subterranean Oratory near the Mart of Science. It is said that Miryam, the mother of Jesus, prayed here. To pray here with success one must recite the Surat Miryam, and pray like Omar, who recited the Surat Sad at the *Mihrab* of David. They recite also here the prayer of Jesus, when he was received into heaven from the Mount of Olives.

§ vi. *The Mosk of the Moghrebins.*

Outside the Jamia, to the west, in the front of the *Mesjid*, is the building called the Mosk of the Moghrebins, where the Malekites pray. This building was apparently first erected by Omar Ibn-Khatab, on whom be the peace of God! For, according to the tradition of Shedad, when Omar had entered the *Mesjid el-Aksa* he went to its west front, bearing in his dress the filth that he had taken from the Sakhrâh. We

carried it, says Shedad, like him, and came to the Valley Jehennom. Thence he returned, and we with him, until we stopped to pray with him in a place where the people prayed. The same Shedad reports that Omar, on the day of the conquest, went towards a place on the west side, saying, Let us here establish a Mosk: and *this Jamia is in the west face of the Mesjid*. Possibly the building was constructed by Omar, or the Ommiades left it behind them. It extends from east to west in the Mesjid.

M. d'O.
II. p. 87.

§ vii. *The Rock Es-Sakhras.*

This Rock is in the middle of the Mesjid, on a raised platform, covered with a beautiful building. It is a Dome rising 50 common architectural Ziraas above the platform, which is itself elevated 7 Ziraas from the ground; so that the total elevation of the Dome above the ground is 58 [*sic*] Ziraas. The Dome is supported by columns *of marble, and piers very well built*. It has twelve columns (*'amud*) of marble and four piers (*sowari*.) The rock itself is surrounded with a wooden rail, and the columns and piers which carry the Dome are surrounded with an iron fence. The Dome is covered with a roof of gilded wood, supported by sixteen columns and eight piers. The pavement and *walls* below the Dome are of marble within and without. It is ornamented above, both within and without, with variegated stones, and the building which surrounds the Dome is octangular. The interior circumference is 224 Ziraas, the exterior 240, *by the ordinary Ziraa*.

§ viii. *The Sacred Foot-Print.*

It is on a stone detached from the rock on the south-west, *and is on marble pillars*.

§ ix. *The Cave.*

Beneath the rock is a Cave on the south, to which is a descent by stone steps. The steps are interrupted in the middle by a small bench excavated in the rock on the east side, where the pilgrims rest. Here is a marble column, the base of which stands on this bench, joined on the south to the side of the Cave; the capital supports the side of the Sakhras, as if to prevent it from leaning towards the south side, or in any other way.

M. d'O.
II. p. 88.

This cave is one of the most sacred places on earth. The author of *Messir-el-ghoram* says that he found, in the Commentary on the work *Muta* (a collection of traditions of the Imam Malek), on that verse of the Koran, "We sent water from heaven"—that all the water on earth comes from under the Sakhras; which is a marvel, because being itself without support on any side, it is supported only by Him who supports the heavens, which can only fall upon the earth by His permission.

On the south side is the footprint of the prophet, which was there

impressed when he mounted the celestial beast Borak, for the nocturnal journey: which occasioned the rock to incline on this side out of respect. On the other side you see the prints of the fingers of the angels who supported the rock while it bowed. Beneath the rock is a cave in which prayers are heard at all events. When I would enter there (continues the author of Messir-el-ghoram), I feared that it would sink down under the burden of my sins; but having seen that sinners covered with all kinds of iniquity entered and came out safe and sound, I took courage to enter; I still hesitated, however; at last I entered, and was astounded to see the rock detached on all sides, and not joined to the earth. So writes the author of Messir-el-ghoram; but, adds our author, it is a well-known fact among men, that this rock is suspended between heaven and earth. It is said that it remained so suspended until a pregnant woman, when she had entered under the rock, being terrified with this appearance, miscarried there. Then it was surrounded with the present building, to conceal the terrific marvels of the place. Ibn el-Arabi relates in his work that he came to the East, A. H. 485 (A. D. 1092),—which is the time of his arrival at Jerusalem, and that then the rock was already surrounded with a rotunda. God best knows how this is! The Dome and the rotunda which encircles it have a double roof, of which the lower is of gilded timber, and the upper covered with lead, and there is a considerable space between the two. The building has four gates towards the Cardinal points. That on the south [46] leads straight to the *Jamia*, properly called Aksa. On the right side within the Dome is a *Mihrab*, opposite the gallery of the Muezzins, on a column of marble of very elegant workmanship. The eastern gate leads towards the steps of Borak [27], opposite the Dome of the Chain [48]. This eastern gate [47] is called the Gate of Israfil (the angel of death). The northern gate [44] is called the Gate of Paradise. There is seen the black pavement, of which I have spoken elsewhere. The western gate is opposite to that which is called the Cotton Merchants.

M. d'O.
II. p. 89.

§ x. *The Dome of the Chain*, [48].

This dome is very beautiful: I have spoken of it among the buildings of Abd-el-Melik Ibn-Merwan. It served as a model for that of the Sakhras, and stands between the eastern gate [47] and the steps of Borak [27], supported by seventeen marble columns, exclusive of those of the *Mihrab*. Tradition says, that the prophet on his nocturnal journey saw the Houris in this place. The platform round the Dome of the rock is square; so, however, that it is somewhat longer from south to north than from east to west, as will appear when we speak of its dimensions, please God.

Before each of the gates of the Sakhras are columns supporting the prominent part of the roof (porches); the platform is paved with white marble. From whatever quarter you approach there are stone stairs, the

heads of which are surmounted by arches raised on columns. Two of these stairs are on the south side; one of which [33] is opposite to the great gate of the Mosk, commonly called el-Aksa. At the top of these stairs is a marble *Minbar* [15], and near it a *Mihrab*, where prayer is made on festivals and in times of drought. This *Minbar* it is said was erected by the Judge of the judges, Burhan-ed-din Ibn Jema... At first it was built hastily only in wood. The second of these stairs [34] leads towards the Dome of the Roll [23], which is towards the Mount of Olives. It faces the wall of the Mosk el-Aksa. The stairs on the east are called the steps of Borak [27], and lead to the olives planted from the east side of the Mosk to the Gate of Mercy. Two other stairs are on the north, one [28] opposite to the Gate *Hitta*, the other [29] opposite to the Gate of the *Dewatar*. On the west side there are three stairs, one [30] opposite to the Gate of the Inspector (*Bab-en-Nazir*), the second [31] opposite the Gate of the Cotton-Merchants (*Katunin*), the third [32] opposite the Gate of the Chain (*Bab-es-Salsala*). This last was made in our times, in the year 877, (A.D. 147 $\frac{2}{3}$). Near these stairs is the Dome called the Grammarians' [22], constructed by the great Melik Isa.

M. d'O.
11. p. 90

§ xi. *The Dome of the Prophet's Ascension*, [16].

On the right of the Rock, on the west of the platform, rises the Dome of the Ascension, much visited by pilgrims, built by the Amir Isfehsalan Az-ed-din, son of Amru Osman, Governor of Jerusalem, A. H. 596 (A.D. 1199, 1200). It existed before, but was then repaired.

§ xii. *The Place of the Prophet*, [17].

This is said to have been once a beautiful little Dome, standing on the platform on the side of the Dome of the Ascension; but when the platform was paved this cupola disappeared, and its place was marked by a *Mihrab*, described in red marble, in the pavement on the side of the Sakhras, which still exists. It is said that this is the place where the prophet prayed with the angels and cherubim, on the night of his nocturnal journey, and from which he afterwards ascended to heaven. Two prints of his feet are to be seen there, one in gold the other in silver, marking the spot of the Ascension, which took place on the right side of the Sakhras. [Directions and formula for praying there.]

§ xiii. *The Place of the Prophet, El-Khudr (S. George)*, [18].

Below the platform on the west, towards the Dome of the Prophet, is a place called Bakh-bakh [wonderful and beautiful!], which is the place of El-Khudr, who prayed there; it is now abandoned. It [*lege* There] is beneath the platform, towards the Gate of Iron (*Hadid*), adjoining the stairs [30] which lead to the platform, [a chamber] called the Cave

of Spirits [19], which is rarely visited by pilgrims. On the west side of the *Mesjid* are rocks said to be of the time of David. It is evident that they are natural rocks, rooted in the ground, and never removed. M. d'O.
II. p. 91.

§ xiv. *The Dome of Solomon*, [20].

On this side, near the gate of the Dewatar, is a Dome solidly built on the natural rock, called the Dome of Solomon; and the rock must be that where he stood to pray after having finished the Temple... This Dome dates from the time of the Ommiades.

§ xv. *The Dome of Moses*, [21].

The Dome which stands near the Gate of the Chain (es-Salsala) is called the Dome of Moses; but this is not Moses the prophet. The true origin of this name is unknown. It was built by Melik Saleh Nejem-ed-din Eyûb, son of Melik el-Kamel, in the year of his death, *i. e.* A. H. 647 (A. D. 1249⁴⁹/₅₀). It was formerly called Kubbet-es-Sijret (Dome of the Tree). On the west side of the *Mesjid* are cloisters solidly built, running from south to north. The first is near the Gate of the Moghrebins, (*i. e.* the Gate of the Prophet [41]), and the last at the Gate of the Inspector (Nazir), and beyond [to] near the Gate El-Ghuanimi.—All these cloisters were built under the direction of Melik Naser Motammed, Ibn Kelaûn. Those from the Gate of the Moghrebins to that of the Chain (es-Salsala) were built in A. H. 713 (A. D. 1313¹³/₄), those from the Gate of Nazir to that of Ghuanimi in the year 707 (A. D. 1307⁷/₈). On the area of the *Mesjid*, between these cloisters and the platform of the court of the Sakhrâh, there are a number of small elevations for prayer [35], and a great quantity of trees,—as sycamores, figs and others. The cloisters on the north of the area run east and west from the Gate of the Tribes (es-Sabat) to the School el-Jawlié, now called the House of Prefecture.

As to the cloisters which extend from the Gate of the Tribes to the School of Ghader, I cannot speak positively. Most probably they were erected at the same time as the neighbouring Minaret [56], built by Sultan Eshref Ibn-Hosein, A. H. 769 (A. D. 1369⁶⁹/₈). The cloisters below the School of Ghader were built at the same time as were those of the School of Kerim. The cloisters near the Gate of Hitta to that of the Dewatar were built by Melik Efhad, at the same time with his sepulchre, which is near the former of these two gates; for they are mentioned in the deed of foundation. As for the cloisters commencing at the Gate of the Dewatar, and extending to the western wall of the *Mesjid*, and the five schools outside them,—the School of Emin and the Persan are ancient. They were repaired during the reign of Melik Isa, in the year 610 (A. D. 1213¹³/₄). The cloisters beneath the other three schools, viz. that of Esaad and Sabib, were built at the same time with these Schools, whose dates will be given in the M. d'O.
II. p. 92.

chapter on the Schools. The lower cloisters beneath the Prefecture [Es-Seraiyah] were built at the same time with the minaret of the Gate El-Ghuanimi [55]; for the date is preserved in the chronography written above: but the writing has become illegible from age, and its height from the ground. The two cloisters were built a year after the minaret.....On the east side are many olives, planted in the time of the Greeks, and the remains of the ruined cloisters on the side of the Cradle of Jesus date from the times of the Ommiades.

§ xvi. *The Dome of the Roll*, [23].

This is on the platform of the Sakhrāh on the south-west. I have been told that it is so called because one of the ancient kings, on a visit to Jerusalem, having ascended the Mount of Olives, threw a roll which fell here; which gave occasion to the building of this Dome and to its name. Men have invented diverse accounts of this matter: God only knows the truth!

§ xvii. *Retreat of Kashan*, [24].

This is a place near the Dome of the Roll, on the side of the platform of the Sakhrāh towards the south. Sheikh Abd-el-Melik of Mosul here lived as a hermit. Its walls are cased with tiles of Kashan, whence it derives its name.

§ xviii. *The Cell of Bostam*, [25].

Under the platform of the Sakhrāh, on the east, near the olives, where the poor of Bostam met for prayer. The door is now closed.

§ xix. *The Cell of Samed*, [26].

Near the Cell of Samed on the north, adjoining the Stairs of Borak [27]. The door is now closed, as that of the former building. There are in the Mesjid *thirty-four* wells for collecting the rain-water. One of these is that of the Leaf, already mentioned (§ 3), in the Jamia. There are seven others on the platform of the Sakhrāh, the remainder in the ground of the area around the four sides of the platform. Some have no opening, others have as many as three, so that there are *more than* forty mouths to these wells. Some are in ruins, and some stopped.

M. d'O.
II, p. 93.

§ xx. *Dimensions of the Area of the Mesjid*.

I took these dimensions myself with cords, and found the length—commencing from the South wall near the Mihrab of David, to the end of the cloisters on the north of the Gate of the Tribes—669 common Ziraas, without reckoning the thickness of the two walls. Should any one else find it two or three Ziraas more or less, it must be ascribed

to the difficulty of surveying; for I surveyed it twice myself before I obtained the true measure. The width from east to west, commencing from the eastern wall adjoining the tombs at the Gate of Mercy to the end of the western cloisters beneath the School of Tunjûz, is 406 common architectural Ziraas, without reckoning the thickness of the two walls.

§ xxi. *Observation.*

I have at the commencement called attention to the fact that the place now called by the name Akxa (*i. e.* the most distant), is the Mosk [Jamia] properly so called, at the southern extremity of the area, where is the *Minbâr* and the great *Mihrab*. But in fact Akxa is the name of the whole area enclosed within the walls, the dimensions of which I have just given, for the Mosk proper [Jamia], the Dome of the Rock, the Cloisters, and other buildings, are all of late construction, and Mesjid el-Akxa is the correct name of the whole area.

§ xxii. *Dimensions of the Platform of the Sakhrâh.*

The length from the southern wall between the two southern stairs, passing with the measure between the eastern door of the Sakhrâh and the Dome of the Chain, to the northern wall opposite the Gate Hitta, is 253 Ziraas; the width from east to west, commencing at the eastern wall adjoining the olives, to the western wall opposite to the School of Eshrif, is 189 common architectural Ziraas. The dimensions of the Mosk proper (Jamia), the elevation of the Dome of the Sakhrâh, and its circumference, have been before indicated (sup. §§ ii. vii.) If there be an error in the measures it must be very slight. The dimensions here given differ from those which I have given in the account of its construction under the reign of Abd-el-Melik Ibn Merwan. The reason is, that the measures vary according to the usage of the time, though their names remain the same: some who have given these measures employ the Ziraa of iron; others, the hand-Ziraa (the length of the arm)—God knows best! There are besides in the area a number of small oratories, &c., the description of which would be too long, for he only who has seen this sanctuary can form a just idea of it, and all that I have said concerning it is only by way of approximation.

[Then follows an eulogy of the Haram, which is not to the purpose.]

§ xxiii. *The Ancient Akxa.*

Beneath the *Mesjid* on the south side is a great building, in which are piers supporting the roof, and it is under the place of the *Minbar* and *Mihrab*. This place is called the ancient *Akxa*, and these are perhaps the remains of Solomon's building, as may be judged from their solidity.

M. d'O.
II. p. 94.

M. d'O.
II. p. 95.

§ xxiv. *The Stable of Solomon.*

At the side of that, also beneath the Mesjid, under where the olives grow, there is a walled place called the Stable of Solomon. It runs in under the greatest part of the Mesjid, and occupies the subterranean space of most of the above-noticed southern localities of the Mesjid. It is probably Solomon's building.

§ xxv. *The Minarets.*

In describing the Mosk as it was built in the time of Abd-el-melik Ibn-Merwan, we have already spoken of the four Minarets, of which three are on the west side of the Mosk, the fourth at the Gate of the Tribes. They still exist, but it is plain that they have been repaired and rebuilt in more modern times, on the old foundations. The first Minaret, and most beautiful [53], is at the south-west near the School of Fakhr, against the back of which it rests. It was perhaps built by the founder of that School; but God knows best! The second [54] is at the Gate of the Chain, served by the most eminent Muezzins: it gives the direction to the other Minarets, which follow it in announcing prayer. I have been informed that it was erected by Tûnjuz, prefect of Syria, when he built the celebrated School at the side of the Gate of the Chain. The third Minaret [55] is at the north-west extremity of the Mesjid. It is the largest and most solid of the four; it was built by Kadi Sheref-ed-din Abd-er-Rahman, son of the Wisir Fakhr-ed-din el-Khalili, inspector of the religious foundations of the Harams of Mecca, Medina, and Jerusalem. I have seen the patents for this office [or the expenses of this work], drawn up by Sultan Hossam-ed-din Lajin, in the year 697 (A. D. 1295), at which time probably this Minaret was erected. Others think it was of the time of Kelaûn, which is possible. The fourth Minaret [56] near the Gate of the Tribes is the most elegant. It was built in the reign of the Sultan Eshref, in the month of Shaaban, A. H. 769 [A. D. 1367].

§ xxvi. *Gates of the Mesjid.*

There are first the two gates pierced in the East wall, of which God speaks in the Koran, saying, "He raised a wall, whose gate on the inside is the Gate of Mercy, and on the outside the Gate of Torture." The valley behind this last is called Wady Jehennom. They are now stopped. Remains of the work of Solomon may still be seen on the inside of the enclosure, the only remains that are found within the Mesjid. This place is much revered and visited by pilgrims. I heard from a sage that these two gates were closed by Omar Ibn Khatab, and will only open at the end of the world, when Jesus the Son of Mary shall descend upon the earth. It seems they were closed for fear, and to secure the Haram and the city, because they face the desert, and there could be no advan-

tage in having them open, (to facilitate the entrance of the Bedawin). The place above the Gate of Mercy is called the Convent of Nasr, from Sheikh Nasr, who delivered scientific lectures there for a long time. He was replaced by the Imam Abu Hamid el-Ghazali, and this place was called the cell of Ghazali. Being afterwards repaired by Melik Isa, it soon fell again to ruin, so that only some remains of its walls now appear. There is on the east side near the two gates above-mentioned a third closed gate [u], opposite the stairs of the Sakhras, called the Steps of Borak [27]. It is called the Gate of Borak, because by this gate the Prophet entered on his nocturnal journey; and the gate of *funerals*, *because they went out by it*. The Gate of the Tribes, so called from the Tribes of the Children of Israel, Joseph, Reuben, Simeon, and Juda, at the extreme south-west [lege north-east] side, not far from the Gates of Mercy and Repentance. It is said that between the Gate of Mercy and that of the Tribes is the place of Elias and El-Khudr. [Then follow various traditions about these two saints.]

The Gate Hitta is on the north side. This Gate has its name from the command given by God to the Israelites, to say Hitta, (i. e. Pardon!) as they entered it. [Various Traditions.]

M. d'O.
II. p. 97.

The Gate of the Nobility of the Prophets is on the north. It is apparently this by which Omar entered on the day of the conquest. But God best knows all things! It is now called the Gate of the Dewatar, from the School of the same name at its side. There are then three Gates on the north; that of the Dewatar, that of the Tribes, and that named Hitta. The Gate El-Ghuanimi is at the extremity of the west wall, where it turns north, so called after the minaret of that name. It leads to the quarter of the Children of Ghuanimi, and was formerly called the Gate of Abraham.

M. d'O.
II. p. 98.

The Gate of the Nazir (Inspector) is an ancient Gate repaired in the time of Melik Isa, about A. H. 600 (A. D. 120 $\frac{3}{4}$). It was formerly called the Gate of Michael. This is the Gate to which Gabriel tied the celestial beast Borak on the night of Mohammed's journey. The Gate of Iron is solid and beautiful, made by Argun el-Kameli. The Gate Katanin, (of the Cotton Merchants,) so called from its leading to the cotton bazaar. An inscription under it states that the Sultan Melik en-Nasr Mohammed, Ibn Kelaun, repaired it in 737 (A. D. 133 $\frac{6}{7}$). It is an extremely solid gate, and *in its neighbourhood is the Gate of the Bath, by which you can come to the Bath of the Mesjid. It is ancient, and was in ruins when Alla-ed-din el-bassir renewed its building, when he built the Muttaweddy.*

The Gate of the Chain and the Gate Sekiné both lead over the great street, called the Street of David. These are the principal Gates and most frequented, because they lead towards the Bazaar and the principal streets of the city. The Gate of the Chain was formerly called the Gate of David.

The Gate of the Moghrebins, so called from its vicinity to the door of the Jamia of the Moghrebins (Western Africans) ..and because by that one goes to the quarter of the Moghrebins. This Gate is at the south-west extremity of the enclosure, and is also called the Gate of the Prophet....

M. d'O.
II. p. 99. There are then eight gates on the west side, commencing with that of Ghuanimi to that of the Moghrebins, and three to the north, i.e. eleven in all, exclusive of the two Gates of Mercy and Repentance, and the closed door in the East wall—with which there are fourteen...On the east and south sides, the Mesjid looks towards the desert: on the south, to the Fountain of Siloam, &c.; on the east is also the Mount of Olives and the Valley of Jehennom; on the north and west only the enclosure is bounded by houses. I have already said that the Mesjid was once in the middle of the city, surrounded on all sides by buildings, but after the old constructions were destroyed no one undertook to rebuild them, *and the affairs of the world became exhausted*.—So things remained as we see them in these days.

[The last two sections of the xxth Chapter are on the order in which the Inams pray (p. 99), and on the lamps lighted in the buildings (p. 100): these I omit.

The next Extracts given by Von Hammer are from the xxist chapter of the work, (folio 139 of the MS. in the British Museum, translated in Mines d'Orient, Tome II. pp. 118, &c.): and relate to the "Schools and Sepulchral Monuments within and around Jerusalem." These charitable foundations comprehend Schools (*Medressé*), Convents (*Khankeh*), Cells (*Zaweh*), and Caravanserais (*Robat*), founded and endowed by religious sultans, princes, and local governors, or officers, civil and ecclesiastical, or by private individuals, chiefly in the 7th, 8th, and 9th centuries of the Hejra; for from the time of its recovery from the Franks the Muslimin vied with each other in their endeavours to repair the temporary desecration of their Holy House by special reverence and acts of extraordinary devotion. I do not think it worth while to give the names and dates of these various foundations, or of the Sepulchral Monuments of some of the founders and others, which could only be identified on the spot, and which throw little light on the topography of the City. I therefore mention only those which have any historical or antiquarian interest.

After noticing three within the Mesjid el-Aksa, and one on the South side of the enclosure, the writer enumerates those on the West side. The first of these is:]

M. d'O.
p. 118. 1. The Convent of Fakhr, near the Mosk of the Moghrebins, within the Mesjid, near the gate which leads to the Quarter of the Moghrebins founded by the Kadi Fakhr-ed-din Abu-Abdullah Mohammed, inspector of the troops, a Coptic convert to Islam, who died A.H. 732 (A.D. 133½), upwards of 70 years of age. [This is doubtless the present house of Abu Se'ud Effendi].

2. The School of Tunjûz, founded by Emir Tunjûz, prefect of Syria, opposite the Gate of the Chain (*Bab-es-Salsala*). The founder left many monuments of his piety, as *e.g.* the marbles near the *Mihrab* of the Great Mosk, on the West side. This building was commenced in A.H. 720 (A.D. 1320). He also caused to be made the marble basin [49] between the Sakhrâh and the old Mosk, and the Bath at the Gate of the Cotton Merchants (*Bab-el-Katanin*). [This is the *Hammam es-Shefu*.]...

[Ten other religious foundations are mentioned on the West side of the enclosure, (p. 119,) and fourteen on the North side, (p. 120). He then, proceeds to the Schools in the town, and first those near the Mesjid, but not contiguous to its walls, on the North.]

1. The School of Saleh, near the Gate of the tribes (*Bab-es-Sabat*), founded by Melik Saleh-ed-din. It is the ancient Church of S. John, where the Virgin Mary was buried. It was founded A.H. 588 (A.D. 1192). The revenues of the Sheikhs are the best that have been founded in the countries of Islâm. [The historian has written, or the translator has read, Hanna, *i. e.* John, for Anna, and made it the burial-place, instead of the birth-place, of the Virgin. It is the Church of S. Ann. Eight other foundations are named on this side (p. 121); and twenty Schools, Sepulchral Monuments, &c. on the West side (pp. 121—123); of which I need only cite three:]

1. The Cell of Yona, near the Gate of the Inspector (*Bab-en-Nazir*). 2. The School of Jehark, on the North of the Cell of Yona. These two places were formerly a Christian Church divided in two, so that one half became the Cell of Yona, the other the School of Jehark, founded in A.H. 791 (A.D. 1389), by the emir of that name, grand-master of the Squires of Melik Barkuk, killed at Damascus. 3. The School of Efdhal, formerly called the Dome of the Moghrebins, founded by Melik Efdhal Nur-ed-din Abulhasan Ali, son of Saleh-ed-din, for the use of the Moghrebins. He founded also the Mosk by the side of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, A.H. 589 [A.D. 1193], where his father died. The minaret only was built before the year 870 (A.D. 1466).

[Of the remaining fourteen, in various parts of the City, I need only mention:]

1. The Cell Derkah, near the Hospital of Saleh. This building was in the time of the Franks the establishment of the Hospitallers, and had been built by Helena, mother of Constantine, who built the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. The minaret is in ruins. Here the Governors of Jerusalem formerly dismounted. This Cell was endowed A.H. 613 (A.D. 1216), by Melik Mozaffer-Shehab-ed-din Gazi, son of Sultan Melik-el-Aadel Abu Bekr, son of Eyûb, Lord of Mifaraikin.

2. The Serpents' Mosk, near the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, where is the talisman against serpents. It was built by the Khalif Omar.

3. The Convent of Saleh, under the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, founded in 585 (A.D. 1189) by Melik Saleh-ed-din. [This is el-Khankey, *n.*]

4. The Red Convent, near the last named, destined for the poor.

5. The School of Maimûn, at the City Gate, ez-Zahari. It was formerly a Greek Church endowed in A.H. 593 (A.D. 119⁵) by Emir Faris-ed-din Abu Said Maimun, son of Abdullah el-Kasri, treasurer of Melik Saleh-ed-din.

M. d'O.
p. 124.

[The writer adds that there are besides many Schools, Cells, and Caravanserais in Jerusalem, but he has only named the most celebrated. I here resume his narrative.]

§ xxviii. *The Minarets of Jerusalem.*

Besides the four Minarets of the Mesjid el-Aksa, there is without a small Minaret at the School of Moazzem, (opposite the Gate of the Dewatar,) and another at the Convent of Saleh-ed-din, built by Sheikh Borhan-ed-din, Ibn Ghanem, before the year 820 (A.D. 1417). I have been informed by Sheikh Shems-ed-din Mohammed, son of Sheikh Abdullah of Bagdad, that Borhan-ed-din's design to build this Minaret greatly distressed the Christians, because it would out-top the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. They offered a large sum of money to the Sheikh to abandon his design, but he continued to build, to their great annoyance. Then the Prophet appeared in a dream to a man whom he ordered to salute Ibn-Ghanem in his name, and to assure him of his intercession in the Day of Judgment, in recompence for his having raised this Minaret above the head of the Infidels. We have said above that the Minaret, which is on the South of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, was built before the year 870 (A.D. 146⁵), on the ancient foundations. The Minaret at the side of the Cell Derkah was partly ruined by the earthquake of the year 863 (A.D. 145⁹), and the Minaret of the Mosk near the Jews' Synagogue was built since the year 800 (A.D. 139⁷.) The City of Jerusalem, as it now stands, is a large City built partly on the mountain and partly in the valley. Everywhere are found vestiges of ancient buildings on which the modern are reared. It has a large number of reservoirs for collecting the rain-water. Among the most solid buildings of Jerusalem is the Cotton Bazaar, on the West side of the great Mosk, of such height and strength as is found in few other cities: then the three Bazaars near the Gate of the Mihrab, commonly called the Gate of Hebron (Bab el-Khalil), which are also the work of the Greeks, and extend in the direction of Damascus. The first, on the West side, is the Bazaar of the Grocers, assigned by Saleh-ed-din as endowment to the School which he built. The middle one which joins this is the Herb Bazaar, and the third on the East is the Bazaar of Stuffs. The rents of these last belong to the Mosk of Aksa. Travellers say that they know no Bazaar which can be compared with these. They are one of the ornaments of Jerusalem.

M. d'O.
p. 125.

Selami Ibn Kossair relates, that when Omar had taken Jerusalem he stopped at the upper part of the Bazaar, and enquired, "Whose row is this?" *i. e.* the row of Shops of the Cloth Bazaar. The answer was

"The Christians'." "And whose," he asked, "is this western row, where the bath is?" He was answered—"The Christians'." Then he made a sign with his hand, saying, "This for them, and that for us." *This, i. e.* the middle Bazaar which runs between the two rows, and is to be understood of the great Bazaar where is the Dome covered with lead. It is clear, he describes the place where are now the three Bazaars before mentioned, for the old rows have disappeared, and the present buildings have taken their place.

There are at Jerusalem nearly twenty Churches and Convents of the times of the Greeks. The principal and most solid of all is that of the Holy Sepulchre, annually visited by a great number of pilgrims from all lands, who arrive there for the day of the Resurrection. The Church of Sion which belongs to the Franks at the Southern extremity of Jerusalem. The Church of S. James, or the Convent of the Armenians near the former. The Church of the Cross (Masulabi), which belongs to the Georgians without Jerusalem, on the West. These four Churches are the pillars of the Christians...The last was taken away from them during the reign of Nasr Mohammed, son of Kelaun, and converted into a Mosk. But in the year 705 (A.D. 130⁵/₆) an ambassador arrived from the King of the Georgians and the Emperor of Constantinople to demand the restitution of this Church, which was accordingly restored to them.

§ xxviii. *Celebrated Quarters of Jerusalem.*

Quarter of the Moghrehins, *near the walls of the Mesjid, on the West,* M. d'O.
p. 126. where the Moghrehins (Western Africans) sojourn, from whom it is named. The Quarter of Sheraf *in its neighbourhood*, also on the West, *and its name is derived from a man who was of the nobles of the city, called Sheraf, and he has descendants known by the name of Beni Sheraf.* It was formerly called the Kurds' Quarter. The Quarter of Alem, named after Alem-ed-din Suliman, son of Mohezeb, deceased in 770 (A.D. 136³/₉), whose son Omar was inspector of Mecca and Medina, and whose brother *Sheraf-ed-din* is buried in this Quarter. It is close to the preceding on the North, and adjoins the Quarter of Hayadaré. The Quarter Saltein adjoins that of Sheraf on the South-west; *Haret-er-Rîsha*, and the Jews' Quarter on the East. The Quarter of Sion is West of the Jews'. The Quarter Dhawi, North of that of Sion, and the Quarter of the Beni Hareth, without the City, near the Fortress.

§ xxix. *The Street of David.*

This is the great Street which commences at the Gate of the Chain (Salsala) of the Mesjid el-Aksa, and leads to the City-gate, once called of the Mihrab, now of Hebron (*Kahlil*). Its parts bear different names. Thus the part from the Gate of the Mesjid to the house of the Koran of Selami is called Suk-es-sagha (the Goldsmiths' Mart); from the gate of Selami to the gate of the Quarter of Sheraf, Suk-el-Kashash (faggots);

from the Quarter of Sheraf to the Khan Fakhm, Suk-el-mobidhin (the Whitesmiths' Mart); from the gate of the Khan to the arch (*Kantara*) Jobeili, Suk-Khan el-Fakhem (the Mart of the Charcoal Inn); from the arch Jobeili to the steps (*duraj*) Harafish, Suk-al-tabakkin (Tobacco Mart); from the steps Harafish to the gate of the Jews' Quarter, Khat-bab-el-wakali (the Line of the Gate of the Wakil's Office). It is a large Khan, (the revenues of which are assigned to the Mosk el-Aksa, and let for 400 ducats a year,) *in which various sorts of goods are sold*. From the Jews' Quarter to the Khan Essarf (Money-changers') is called Suk el-Hariri (the Silk Mart); and from the Khan es-Sarf to the City-gate, Khat-'arsat-el-ghalal (Line of the Place of Produce).

All these parts are comprised in the Street of David, so named from a subterranean gallery which David caused to be made from the Gate of the Chain to the Citadel called the Mihrab of David. It still exists, and parts of it are occasionally discovered. It is all solidly vaulted.

§ xxx. *The Street of the Merzeban* (probably *Landgrave*).

It is divided into different parts, like that of David. From the Gate El-Katanin to the end of the Akba it is called Akbat-el Katanin. From the head of the Akba to the Khan Jobeili *is known as* Hammam Ala-ed-din, which joins on the West the lane (*shaari*), known as the quarter of Sheikh Mahommed el-Karmi, and on the North, a lane (*shaari*), known as the quarter of the Hasryé (Mat Merchant), which is followed on the East by the quarter of Ibn-es-Shentir, *because he dwelt there; and the whole of this is comprehended under the Khat of the Merzeban*. (I know not the reason of this name, *but it is so written in the legal decisions*).

M. d'O. II.
p. 127.

Near the Merzeban's quarter *on the West* is the Plan of the Square, and the Stuff Mart, followed by those of Herbs and Spicery: *and close to it* the street of the Derkah, where is the Hospital of Saleh-ed-din, and the Church of the Sepulchre. Near this the Christians' Quarter extends *to the South-east* from the Gate of Hallil to the Gate of Serb (Drinking). *And within the Christian Quarter is the Quarter of the Rahbeh*. The Quarter Jewalidi joins the Christian Quarter on the West, without the city.

§ xxxi. *The Lane (Shaari) of the Valley of the Mills*.

This is the greatest street, from the South towards Damascus, which extends from the steps of the fountain to the Gate of the Column (*el 'Amud*)—*one of the city-gates*, and includes many lanes (*shaari*). First, that of the Gate of the Cotton Mart, *and this is the Gate of the Mesjid, so called because they sell Cotton in the Bazaar near it*. That of the gate of the Inspector (*en Nazir*), opposite to which, on the West, is Market-Street (*Akbat-es-Suk*), now known as Lady's Street (*Akbat-es-Sit*), so called from a house built by Dame Tonshok, in 794 (A.D. 139½). Near

it on the West is the Oil Mart, and by it is an Akbat on the East, known as Akbat Abu Shama (the Mole's Father—it is the title of an unpublished tale of the Thousand and One Nights). On the East side of the Mill Valley is the Quarter Ghuanimi, named from the Beni Ghanem, and opposite on the West is Akbat-ez-Zahari, so called from an oratory of that name. On the South is Akbat es-Sudan, by which, on the North, is the Akbat known as the Arch (kantara) of Green. At the Northern end of Akbat ez-Zahari is the Bazaar of Fakhr, so called from the founder of the school of that name. Here are the soap-manufactories. On the North-west of this Bazaar is the Quarter of the Beni-Merri, joined on the West by the Quarter Zeraini, and that of Malath, without the city, joining the Christians' Quarter on the West. Lastly, the Quarter of the Column, where the Valley of the Mills and the City terminate on the North-west.

The Quarters of the Beni-Saad and Baila are on the East of the Mill Valley, joining on the North the Ottomans' Quarter, followed on the North by Akbat-es-Showekh, on the North of which again is the Quarter of the Beni Zeid, and that of the Gate Ed-Dagu, at the northern extremity of the city. The Quarter Deraj-el mola is near the Quarter Osaila on the East, joined on the South by the Quarter Sherif-el-Umbia (Nobility of the Prophets), now called that of the Dewatar. It is near the Quarter Mehmazi, and leads to the Gate Zahari. The Quarter of the Gate of Hitta on the North of the Mesjid el-Aksa, joined on the North by the Orientals', which joins the City-walls. The Quarter ^{M. d'O. p. 128.} Tori, from the Gate of the Tribes to the northern wall of the city, and to the Quarter called the Faster's. [Fr. *du Jeuneur.*]

There are besides a great number of Quarters, but we have only mentioned the more celebrated; of which the most remarkable is that of the Gate Hitta. All these Quarters are on the North and West sides of the Mesjid. On the South and East is the desert, as was before said.

§ xxxii. *The Castle.*

This is without [?] Jerusalem on the West side, formerly called the Mihrab of David, who dwelt there. It is said that the building joined the Convent of Sion. It has a great Tower named of David, and built by Solomon. . . . The Franks and Greeks erected some buildings in the Castle, when they were masters of Jerusalem. There is in the Castle a Castellain different from the Governor of the City, who has the privilege of a Mint, and a military Band every afternoon, according to the usage of the Castellains of the Castles in the great cities. This usage is now discontinued by reason of the general disorder. Formerly the Governor resided in the Castle.

The buildings of Jerusalem are all of great strength, built in stone with vaulted roofs, or terraced without timber. Travellers say that they know no city better built for appearance than Jerusalem, and none

better in reality than Hebron. The architecture of Jerusalem resembles that of Nablûs. These three cities are all of stone, because they have the advantage of being situated near mountains where there is an abundant supply of this material. The *coup d'œil* of Jerusalem taken from a distance is very beautiful, above all on the east side, from the Mount of Olives, and also from the South. On the West and North only very little is seen from far. Behind are the mountains which surround Jerusalem and Hebron, and render the approach difficult.

§ xxxiii. *The City Gates.*

M. d'O.
p. 129.

The first, situated on the South, is that of the Moghrebins' Quarter, then that of Sion, now called the Jews'. On the West is a small *secret* gate adjoining the Armenian *Convent*. The Gate of the Mihrab, now called that of Khalil. Moshrif in his Defence of the Traditions says, that, according to the words of the Prophet, the gate by which Jesus shall enter at the end of the world to oppose Antichrist, is not the Gate of the Church towards Ramla, but the *western* Gate of David near the Mihrab, called by the name of Lid, and another known as the Gate of Rahbi [*i.e.* wide place]. On the North are the Gates of Serb, el-'Amud ed-dazje, Ez-Zahari, and on the East that of the Tribes. In all Ten Gates.

CHAP. XXII. REMARKABLE PLACES IN THE ENVIRONS OF JERUSALEM.

§ xxxiv. *The Fountain of Siloam.*

This is without the City on the South, in the valley adjoining the southern walls of the City.

[Then follow traditions, &c., shewing how highly it is esteemed by the Moslems, who rank it with Zemzem,—the sacred Well of Mecca.]

§ xxxv. *The Fountain of accused Women.*

M. d'O.
p. 130.

Said, son of Abd-el-Aziz, says that there was in the time of the Israelites, near the Fountain Siloam, another Fountain, to which women accused of adultery came, and drank the water,—with impunity if they were innocent, but with fatal effect if they were guilty. When Miryam was found with child and accused to her husband, she called God to witness her innocence, and drank of this water only with benefit. She then prayed that this water might never do harm to any faithful woman, and from that day the fountain disappeared.

[This is doubtless the Fountain of the Virgin, of which a similar tradition is often recorded by Christian pilgrims of the middle ages.]

§ xxxvi. *The Well of Job.*

This is near the Fountain Siloam. The author of the *Ins* mentions that he has read the following in the writings of Ibn Omar son of Mohammed el-Kasem. "I have read in history that in a drought of

water this well was dug to the depth of eighty Ziraas, ten long, and four wide. This well is entirely cased with large stones, each of which is five Ziraas long and two high, more or less. I was astonished at the size of these stones, and at the difficulty of getting them down there. The water was fresh, and during the whole year at the depth of eighty Ziraas, except in the winter, when it overflows, inundates the valley, and turns a mill. I descended into the well with the labourers to dig there. I saw that the water there issued from a stone of nearly two Ziraas [in diameter?] There is a cave, the entrance to which may be three Ziraas in height by one and a half in width. A very cold wind came from this cave. I entered it with a lighted candle, and saw there a cave all in stone; I advanced, but the wind which issued thence extinguished the candle. This well is in the depth of the Valley, and the cave in the middle of the well, which is surrounded by enormous rocks and high mountains, up which one climbs with difficulty. This is the well whereof God said to Job, "Place thy foot in this cold hole." The water which overflows in winter, for a month or more, forms a torrent which floods the valley. M. d'O.
p. 131.

There are at Jerusalem six Pools constructed by Ezechiel, (*lege* Hezekiah), one of the ancient kings of Israel. Three of these Pools are in the city—Birket Israil, that of Solomon, and that of *Ayad*. The three others are without the city, Birket Mamillah and the two Pools called El-Merje, which were constructed as reservoirs of water for the city. The first, which is very celebrated, is North of the Mesjid el-Aksa, near the wall, at the Gate of the Tribes (es-Sabat) and the Gate Hitta: it is of majestic appearance. As to the Pools of Solomon and *Ayad*, I know not where they are, unless, at least, they are the two Pools, one of which is at the Street of the Merzeban, and serves as a reservoir for the Bath of Ala-ed-din Bazir [*Hammam es-Shefa*], and the second in the Christian Quarter [Birket Hammam el-Batrak,] which serves as a reservoir to the Patriarch's Bath, whose revenues belong to the Convent of Saleh-ed-din. These two Pools I suppose to be those of Solomon and *Ayad*. That of Mamillah is universally known, the two Pools named Merja are near the village *Urtas*, distant half a farasang, whence the water is conducted by pipes to Jerusalem. [A tradition of Joseph and his brethren to account for the name.]

In the vicinity of Jerusalem are everywhere seen vineyards and orchards. The most beautiful situation is that called El-Kaat [Bukà in MS.], without Jerusalem on the South-west, the revenues of which were granted by Saleh-ed-din to the Convent of the Sofis. These country-houses are elegantly and solidly built, and their owners pass several months there in the summer.

There was formerly at Jerusalem only one palm, supposed to be that which the Koran says bowed to Miryam. According to El-Kortobi, it was planted more than a thousand years since.

M. d'O.
p. 132.

There were at most three palms in the Mesjid el-Aksa, one near the oratory at the side of the Royal path at the place of the Sakhras. This withered about the year 802 (A. D. 13⁹⁹/₄₀.) The two others still exist, one at the Gate of Mercy, the second at the South of the Sakhras, known as the Palm of the Prophet.

§ xxxvii. *The Convent of Abu Tor.*

On the side of this Bukà, on the north, is a small village in which is a Convent built by the Greeks, known in ancient times as the Convent of Mar Kaibûs. Its present name is derived from a pious Sheikh, to whose family this village was bequeathed by Saleh-ed-din, A. H. 594 (A. D. 119⁷/₈.) The Sheikh Abu Tor is buried there. His tomb is visited by many pilgrims. The village is near the Gate of the city called the Gate of Hebron.

§ xxxviii. *The Mount of Olives.*

This is the Mountain on the East which commands the Mesjid el-Aksa. [Moslem Traditions.] It is here that Jesus ascended to heaven. On the summit is a Church built by Helena; in the middle is the Dome of the Assumption [*i. e.* the Ascension]. The Church is in ruins, but the place is highly revered by the Christians. On the Mount of Olives is a karubeh [a tree], and near it a beautiful Mosk. Beneath the Mosk is a Cave frequently visited by travellers. This tree is called the Karubeh of the Ten—I know not the reason of this name. This Mount of Olives is also called the Mountain of Khamer; it abounds in fruit and shade. When Saleh ed-din conquered Jerusalem he gave this property to the Sheikh Weli-ed din Abul Abbas Ahmed, &c. and to the Sheikh Abul Hassan Ali, &c. and their families. The deed of grant is dated the 17th of Zilhajeh, A. H. 584. (January, A. D. 1189.)

§ xxxix. *The Tomb of Miryam.*

M. d'O.
p. 133.

This is in the Church named Jesmanyeh [Gethsemane], at the foot of the Mount of Olives, outside the Gate of the Tribes. This place is frequently visited by pilgrims, Moslem and Christian. The Church was built by Helena, mother of Constantine. When Omar conquered Jerusalem, he passed by the Church of Mary situated in the valley, and offered there two prayers. He afterwards repented, remembering the word of the Prophet, who said that this valley is one of the Valleys of Jehennom. "What occasion," said Omar, "had I to pray in the Valley of Jehennom?" According to Kaab, he said "Go not to the Church of Mary which is at Jerusalem," that is the Church of Jesmanyeh. In the Church of the Mount are two columns of wonderful workmanship. Near the Tomb of Mary, in the Valley of Jehennom, is a Dome built by the Greeks, called by the people The Mound of Pharaoh, at which they throw stones. Near it, at the foot of the mountain, is another Dome of stone, named Kufyeh, after the wife of Pharaoh. It is said that the

first of these is the Tomb of Zachariah, and the second that of John. I have read in some learned writings, that Zachariah and John were buried on Mount Olivet, in the Tombs of the Prophets. Others say that their Sepulchres are at Sabtye [*lege* Sebaste] near Nablûs, others at Damascus. God knows best how it is!

§ xl. *Ez-Zahara.*

This is the valley West of the Mount of Olives. Ibrahim, son of Abu Abbas, says that this valley is described in the Koran by the word Zahara. In the traditions of Ibn Omar it is related that the land of judgment is called Zahara, which is properly "a plain." Travellers quicken their pace to get out of it, and never sleep there. This Valley is without the city on the North. There are graves of Mohammedans.

§ xli. *The Cave Edhemieneh.*

It is beneath the Mount of Tombs in a *wonderful* rock. The Tombs of Zahara are above, so that, should the rock be bored, one would come from the tombs to the oratory Edhemiene (of the Fanatics); but the distance is great and the rock of enormous thickness, so that it may here be said that the dead are above the living, and I have seen it with my eyes. This oratory was formed by the Emir Menjek, prefect of Syria. There are tombs of many pious persons of distinction.

§ xlii. *The Cotton Grotto.*

M. d'O.
p. 134.

Opposite the Zahara on the South, under the Northern wall of the city, is a large oblong cave named the Cotton Grotto; which some say extends as far as beneath the Sakhrâh.

§ xliii. *Graveyards without Jerusalem.*

The Tombs of the Gate of Mercy, near the eastern wall of the Mosk above the Valley Jehennom, preferred to all others as being the nearest to the Mosk. The Sepulchral Chapel on the north was built by the Emir Kansu El-Badawi, Governor of Syria, when he visited Jerusalem, which he quitted in the year 892 (A. D. 1487). He finished the building in 895 (A. D. 1490). The Tombs of Ez-Zahara, of which I have spoken above, on the north of the city. The Tombs of the Martyrs, near the preceding on the East [?]: few persons are buried there. The Tombs of Mamilla, without the city on the west: these are the largest of all. The name Mamilla seems to be corrupted from the words Ma-min-ullah," (What is from God!), or as others think, from "Bab-ullah," (the Gate of God). The Jews call it Beit-Mollo, the Christians, Babila; the common name is Mamilla.

The Kalenderien Tombs. *In the middle* is an oratory known as Kalenderieh, *in which are great buildings*, and this oratory was a Greek Church. It is known as the Red Convent, *and the Christians believe in it*. Sheikh Ibrahim Kalenderi there collected the poor Kalenders [a sect

of fanatical Fakhirs] in the time of Dame Tonshok, daughter of Abdullah El-Mozaffer, who built the great institution known by the name of the House of the Dame Tonshok, and the Dar-el-akba near the Gate of the Inspector. By her liberality Sheikh Ibrahim built this Convent in 794 (A. D. 139½), but it is in ruins since it fell in 893, (A. D. 1483.) There are seen the Tombs of the most illustrious personages of Jerusalem.

The Kebkebian Tombs, near the Turbet Mamilla. It is a building solidly constructed, raised by the Emir Ala-ed-din Aidi Ghadi, son of Abdullah el-Kebkebi, who is there buried. He died in 688 (A. D. 1289.)

As it was important to retain the Arabic names as far as possible, in order to facilitate the identification of the places designated, I subjoin a short Glossary of the more common words, with their nearest equivalent in English, by which I have uniformly rendered them, to save others the inconvenience and perplexity which I have myself experienced from Von Hammer's practice of representing one and the same Arabic word by two, or sometimes four, different French synonyms.

ARABIC.	ENGLISH.	ARABIC.	ENGLISH.
'Ain	fountain.	Kibla ³	south.
'Akbat	street (<i>lit.</i> declivity.)	Kubbet	dome.
'Amûd	column ¹ .	Kubr	tombs.
Bab	gate.	Maghar	cave.
Bir	well.	Medresse	school.
Birket	pool.	Mesjid ²	sacred enclosure.
Dikkah	gallery, p. 36 (5).	Mihrab	explained in p. 35 (1).
Duraj	steps.	Minbar	——— <i>ibid.</i> (2).
Fusus	mosaics (<i>lit.</i> ring-jewels).	Robat	caravanserais.
Hakwiet	compartment.	Sehun	platform.
Haret	quarter.	Shaari	lane.
Hammam	bath.	Sowari	piers ¹ .
Jamia ²	mosk.	Sûk	market.
Kantara	arch.	Tarik	street.
Khan	inn.	Turbet	graveyards.
Khat	line.	Zaweh	cell.
Khankeh } (Pers.) }	convent.	Ziraa ⁴	

¹ 'Amud and Sowari answer very nearly to these terms. Pompey's pillar at Alexandria is called by a name compounded of these two. 'Amûd es-Sowari.

² Jamia and Mesjid are equivalent to *υαδς* and *ἱερὸν* respectively, according to Von Hammer. See H. C. II. p. 297, n. 3.

³ It is used in a conventional sense for "l'endroit vers lequel on se tourne

en faisant la prière" (M. d'O. II. p. 99) = Mihrab, q. v. Willmet in voc.

⁴ The nearest equivalent to this word is a *cubit*, but as this would convey either a vague or false impression, I have retained the word: the value of the measure I have stated at about 2·2 feet English, equal *i. e.* to the Constantinople pit. [See H. C. II. p. 344, n. 3].

Works published by John W. Parker,

West Strand, London.

Select List No. III.

ARUNDINES Cami, sive Musarum Cantabrigiensium Lusus Canori, collegit atque edidit HENRICUS DRURY, M.A. The Third Edition, thoroughly Revised and Enlarged, 12s.

Becker's Gallus; or Roman Scenes of the Time of Augustus, with Notes and Excursus illustrative of Manners and Customs. Second Edition, Enlarged and Improved. Translated by the Rev. F. METCALFE, M.A., Head Master of Brighton College. Post Octavo, with Coloured Illustrations Nearly ready.

Becker's Charicles; or, Illustrations of the Private Life of the Ancient Greeks. Translated by the Rev. F. METCALFE. Post Octavo, with Illustrations, 12s.

A Complete Greek Grammar for the use of Learners. By J. W. DONALDSON, B.D., Head Master of King Edward's School, Bury St. Edmund's. Strongly bound, 4s. 6d.

The Agamemnon of Æschylus, the Greek Text, with a Translation into English Verse, and Notes, Critical and Explanatory. By JOHN CONINGTON, B.A., Fellow of University College, Oxford. 7s. 6d.

The Antigone of Sophocles, in Greek and English, with Critical and Explanatory Notes. By J. W. DONALDSON, B.D. Octavo, 9s.

The Phædrus, Lysis, and Protagoras of Plato; a new and literal Translation, mainly from the Text of Bekker. By J. WRIGHT, B.A., Trinity College, Cambridge. 4s. 6d.

Aristophanis Comœdiæ Undecim cum Notis et Indice Historico. Edidit HUBERTUS A. HOLDEN, A.M., Coll. SS. Trin. Cant. Socius. Octavo, 15s.

C. Cornelii Taciti Opera ad Codices Antiquissimos exacta et emendata, Commentario Critico et exegetico illustrata. Edidit FRANCISCUS RITTER, Professor Bonnensis. Four Volumes, Octavo, 28s.

In this Edition of Tacitus is given a complete collation of all the older and only important MSS., with the emendations of Professor Ritter, and of former Editors, followed by a Commentary, containing an explanation of all difficult passages, and a justification of new readings introduced. The true reading has been restored in more than one hundred and eighty passages, hitherto regarded as hopelessly corrupt. Also, a Life of Tacitus, a criticism of his writings, and of the original form of the Works still extant, with Indices to the Text, and the Notes by the Editor.

Sophoclis Philoctetes. With Notes. By W. HAIG BROWN, B.A., Fellow of Pembroke College, Cambridge. 2s.

Sophoclis Œdipus Tyrannus. With Notes. By W. HAIG BROWN, B.A. 2s. 6d.

The Fables of Babrius, from the newly-discovered Manuscript; with the Fragments of the lost Fables. Edited, with Notes, by G. C. LEWIS, Esq., M.P., M.A., late Student of Christ Church. Post Octavo, 5s. 6d.

Pindar's Epinician Odes, and the Fragments of his Lost Compositions, Revised and explained; with Copious Notes and Indices. By J. W. DONALDSON, B.D., Head Master of King Edward's School, Bury St. Edmund's. Octavo, 16s.

A Commentary on the Book of the Acts of the Apostles. By the Rev. W. GILSON HUMPHRY, M.A., Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, Examining Chaplain to the Bishop of London. Octavo, 7s.

The Cambridge Greek and English Testament, in Parallel Columns on the same Page. New Edition, with Marginal References. 8s. 6d.

The Greek Text of the Acts of the Apostles, with Notes, Original and Selected. By H. ROBINSON, D.D., Rector of Great Warley. Octavo, 8s.

Theocritus. Codicum Manuscriptorum Ope Recensuit et Emendavit CHRIS. WORDSWORTH, S.T.P., nuper Scholæ Harroviensis Magister. Octavo, 13s. 6d.

The Iphigenia in Aulis of Euripides. Cambridge Edition, with English Notes. Octavo, 6s.

The Iphigenia in Tauris of Euripides. Cambridge Edition, with English Notes. Octavo, 5s.

Select Private Orations of Demosthenes, with English Notes. By the Rev. C. T. PENROSE, M.A., Head Master of Sherborne School. 5s.

The Frogs of Aristophanes, with English Notes. By the Rev. H. P. COOKESLEY. 7s.

Homer's Iliad: With Anthon's Notes and Homeric Glossary. Edited by J. R. MAJOR, D.D., Head Master of King's College School. 6s.

Xenophon's Anabasis, I. and II. With English Notes, by Dr. HICKIE, Head Master of Hawkeshead School. 3s. 6d.

The Aulularia of Plautus, with Notes by J. HILDYARD, B.D., Fellow of Christ's College, Cambridge. 7s. 6d.

The Menæchmei of Plautus, with a Glossary and Notes, by J. HILDYARD, B.D. 7s. 6d.

The Phenomena and Diosemeia of Aratus, translated into English Verse, with Notes, by J. LAMB, D.D., Dean of Bristol. Octavo, 7s. 6d.

The *Æneid* of Virgil, with Anthon's Notes. Edited by J. R. MAJOR, D.D., Head Master of King's College, London. 7s. 6d.

Select Epistles of Cicero and Pliny. With English Notes. By the Rev. J. EDWARDS. 4s.

The Speeches of Demosthenes against Aphobus and Onetor. Translated, with Notes explanatory of the Athenian Laws and Institutions, by C. R. KENNEDY, M.A., Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. Post Octavo, 9s.

Bœckh's Public Economy of Athens. Translated by G. C. LEWIS, Esq., M.P., A.M., late Student of Christ Church. Octavo, 18s.

The New Cratylus; Contributions towards a more Accurate Knowledge of the Greek Language. By J. W. DONALDSON, B.D. New Edition, *in the Press*.

Stemmata Atheniensia; Tables of Biography, Chronology, and History, to facilitate the Study of the Greek Classics. 5s.

A Selection from the Greek Verses of Shrewsbury School; with an Account of the Iambic Metre and Style of Greek Tragedy, with Exercises in Greek Tragic Senarii. New Edition, *revised*. 8s.

Characteristics of the Greek Philosophers, Socrates and Plato. By the Rev. JOHN PHILIPS POTTER, A.M., late of Oriel College, Oxford. 4s. 6d.

Dahlmann's Life of Herodotus, drawn out from his Book. Translated by G. V. COX, M.A., Esquire, Bedell, Oxford. Post 8vo, 5s.

A Life of Aristotle, including a Critical Discussion of some Questions of Literary History connected with his Works. By the Rev. J. W. BLAKESLEY, M.A., late Fellow and Tutor of Trinity College, Cambridge. 8s. 6d.

Schleiermacher's Introductions to the Dialogues of Plato; translated by the Rev. W. DOBSON, M.A., Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. 12s. 6d.

Travels in the Track of the Ten Thousand Greeks; a Geographical and Descriptive Account of the Expedition of Cyrus, and of the Retreat of the Ten Thousand, as related by Xenophon. By W. F. AINSWORTH, F. G. S., Surgeon to the late Euphrates Expedition. Post Octavo, 7s. 6d.

The Classical Museum; a Journal of Philology, and of Ancient History and Literature. Vol. I., 12s. 6d.; also Nos. I. to IV., 4s. each.

The Student's Manual of Ancient History; containing the Political History, Geographical Position, and Social State of the Principal Nations of Antiquity. By W. C. TAYLOR, LL.D. Fourth Edition, 10s. 6d.

The Student's Manual of Modern History; the Rise and Progress of the Principal European Nations, their Political History, and the Changes in their Social Condition. By W. C. TAYLOR, LL.D. The Fourth Edition, 10s. 6d.

Classical Texts. Carefully revised from the best Editions.

Cicero de Senectute. 1s.	Cæsar de Bello Gallico. I. to IV. 1s. 6d.
Cicero de Amicitia. 1s.	Horatii Satiræ. 1s.
Cicero pro Plancio. 1s.	Terentii Andria. 1s.
Cicero pro Milone. 1s.	Virgilii Georgica. 1s. 6d.
Cicero pro Muræna. 1s.	Ovidii Fasti. 2s.
Cicero de Officiis. 2s.	Platonis Phædo. 2s.
Ciceronis Oratio Philippica Secunda. 1s.	Platonis Menexenus. 1s.
Taciti Germania. 1s.	Æschyli Eumenides. Revised by J.
Taciti Agricola. 1s.	W. DONALDSON, B.D. 1s.
Excerpta ex Annalibus Taciti. Edited	Euripidis Bacc hæ. 1s.
by Professor PILLANS. 2s. 6d.	Excerpta ex Arriano. 2s. 6d.

A New Hebrew Lexicon.—Part I. Hebrew and English, arranged according to the *permanent* letters in each word (by means of which arrangement the root is more readily found than by any former method.)—Part II. English and Hebrew. With a Hebrew Grammar, Vocabulary, and Grammatical Analysis of the Book of Genesis. Also a Chaldee Grammar, Lexicon, and Grammatical Analysis of the Chaldee Words of the Old Testament. By the Rev. T. JARRETT, M.A., Professor of Arabic, Cambridge. Octavo, 21s.

Hebrew Grammar; designed for the use of Schools and Students. By the late CHRISTOPHER LEO, of Cambridge. Octavo, 12s. 6d.

The Guide of the Hebrew Student; Containing Easy Passages in pure Biblical Hebrew, with Keys and Glossary for English Learners. By H. BERNARD, Hebrew Teacher in the University of Cambridge. 10s. 6d.

An Analysis of the Text of the History of Joseph, upon the Principles of Professor Lee's Hebrew Grammar. By ALFRED OLLIVANT, D.D., Regius Professor of Divinity, Cambridge. Octavo, 6s.

The Psalms in Hebrew, with a Critical, Exegetical, and Philological Commentary, intended for the Use of Students. By G. PHILLIPS, B.D., Fellow and Tutor of Queen's College, Cambridge. Two Volumes Octavo, 32s.

The Book of Solomon, called Ecclesiastes—the Hebrew Text and a Latin Version—with Notes, Philological and Exegetical, and a Literal Translation from the Rabbinic of the Commentary and Preface of R. Moses Mendlessohn. By the Rev. THEODORE PRESTON, M.A., Fellow of Trinity College. Octavo, 15s.

A Practical Arabic Grammar. By DUNCAN STUART. Octavo. 16s.

The Elements of Syriac Grammar. By G. PHILLIPS, B.D., Fellow and Tutor of Queen's College, Cambridge. Second Edition, with Additions. Octavo, 10s.

The Chaldee Text of Daniel V., and the Syriac of St. Matthew, VI. Analyzed. By the Rev. T. R. BROWN, M.A. Octavo, 3s. 6d.

Parker's Catalogue of Books, in all branches of Education, including those published under the sanction of the Committee of Council on Education; and the Publications of the Committee on General Literature and Education, appointed by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, may be had on application.



